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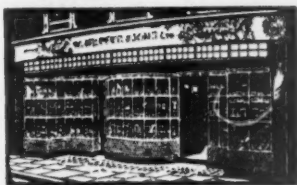
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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 601.—JULY 1954

Art. 1.—BRITAIN IN THE PACIFIC.

THE exclusion of Britain from the A.N.Z.U.S.* Pact and the refusal of the right of sending an observer to the meetings of the A.N.Z.U.S. Council have been far from palatable even to the more tough-minded and realistic of those concerned with Britain's foreign policy : for instance, last June Sir Winston Churchill said that he 'did not like the A.N.Z.U.S. pact at all' and spoke of its being superseded by 'larger and wider arrangements.' Yet, though these are now in prospect, the pact has made suddenly apparent a process of relative and absolute deterioration of British power in the Pacific that has been proceeding for the last fifty years.

The causes of this decline have been twofold : on the one hand a growth in strength of the nations against which her strength must be measured, and on the other a decline in her own power relative to commitments which has reduced the margin available for the Pacific almost to vanishing point. We tend to think of the twentieth-century reduction in British security as representing a variation from the normal, the result of special conditions ; but in fact it is the background against which we see this decline, the immense security of the nineteenth century, that represents the product of exceptional circumstances which have now vanished. For the hundred years after 1805 Britain possessed decisive superiority over any possible combination of Continental naval powers, and after 1814 she did not have to face the prospect of a Continent united under a single aggressive power. Moreover, all the possibly dangerous powers of that period were located on the Continent and could not venture forth to

* Australia-New Zealand-U.S. Mutual Security Treaty.
Vol. 292.—No. 601.

the rest of the world without running the gauntlet of Britain's concentrated naval strength in European waters. As Professor Toynbee has said,* 'In the situation as it had stood in the nineteenth century, the United Kingdom was like a shepherdess who, by skill or luck, had managed to corral all the wolves formerly infesting her sheep-run, in one pen with a single entrance. So long as she stood on guard, sufficiently well armed, at the point of egress—and this was just where geography had obligingly placed her—she was in a position to ensure, single-handed, the safety of the whole of her flock, however much it might increase and multiply, and however widely it might range over distant vale or mountain.' But the rise of Great Powers outside Europe altered the nature of the situation. The general ascendancy of Europe over the non-European world, on which was premised the ability of Britain to defend her overseas territories simply by maintaining her position vis-à-vis the European powers, was based not on a law of nature but on special and transitory conditions, which have been losing their force since the end of the nineteenth century. The Anglo-Japanese Naval Alliance of 1902 may be considered the first recognition of the fact that a non-European power could be a subject rather than an object in the arena of power-politics, a valuable ally or a dangerous competitor. The convoying of Australian troop-ships by the Japanese navy in the First World War was a further illustration of the fact that when Britain was engaged in a general war her power-resources could not really be effectively stretched as far as the Pacific, which has always been essentially a third-priority theatre of operations as far as she was concerned. This relegation to the bottom of the scale has not, of course, been due to any wilful disregard of the interests of the Pacific dominions and territories, but a simple matter of necessity. The first priority must be the home islands and home waters, since if defeat is experienced there it means the end of resistance; the second has had to be the Middle East, since it means the oil supplies without which the fleet is useless, and also because its loss would cut communications with most of the Commonwealth. When Britain is engaged in both these areas, the Pacific and Far East have inevitably had to rub

* 'The World in March, 1939.'

along with what can be spared, and some parts of it have had to be sacrificed temporarily, when necessary, to maintain interests nearer home. Any account of the operations in the Burma-China area during the Second World War, such as the Stilwell papers, makes this fact, and the difficulties which arose from it between Britain, America, and China, abundantly clear.

The decline in Britain's strength in the Pacific has been further accelerated since the Second World War because the greater dangers and commitments that she faces on the Continent, and the fact that her ally there is not, as in the past, a first-class military power but a weak coalition, further reduces the margin available outside Europe. Moreover, the revolution in weapons, with the use of atomic power and guided missiles, means that a higher proportion of her resources must go into the defensive measures aimed at keeping the bases for this kind of attack as far east as possible—preferably beyond the Elbe.

Thus, the changes affecting Britain's potential in the Pacific may be said to amount to a change in degree that is equivalent to a change in kind. Nor have the variations in the context in which her strength must be measured, the Pacific strategic landscape, as it were, been less far-reaching. Since about the turn of the century the situation there has undergone five major changes. The first was the building of the trans-Siberian railway, which brought effective Russian power into the Pacific. The later industrialisation of the Soviet Far East has obviously increased the potential strength that Russia can exert there, to an extent which is a matter of speculation rather than real knowledge. The second was the building of the Japanese fleet and the rise of Japan to the status of a great power. Since 1945, of course, Japan has been in eclipse as far as military strength is concerned, but she is rapidly emerging from that condition. The third was the immense growth of American naval and air power, which has become even more effective with the acquisition of the former Japanese mandated islands in the northern Pacific for use as bases. The fourth was the elimination of Dutch and French power and the retirement of Britain from the Indian sub-continent. The British Army in India was a pivot of strength in the Far East as well as the Middle East. The fifth and least predictable of all has been the emergence

of China since 1950 as a united and formidable power and an ally of the other great Asian land-power, Russia.

We may say, therefore, that Britain's basic strategic position precludes much commitment of resources to the Pacific. What are the policies she must nevertheless seek to further, and how does A.N.Z.U.S. affect them? Her primary interests may be put simply as the preservation of the safety and integrity of the Commonwealth, the avoidance of any further outbreak of war (not only for the reasons that would make her want to avoid war in any case, and because war in the Far East might produce a general conflagration, but also because any further involvement there might drain away the resources of the Western world to an extent that would reduce the margin of safety in Europe) and finally, if possible, the promotion of conditions favourable to trade.

Most of the complaints made against A.N.Z.U.S. in the Press have expressed indignation and dismay that Britain should be kept out of a Pact concluded between America on the one hand and two members of the Commonwealth on the other, and involving vital strategic decisions concerning those dominions. To the American argument that if Britain were admitted, France would have an equally good claim, the United Kingdom has been able to point out that France has no such automatic involvement with the fortunes of Australia and New Zealand as has Britain. However, the conclusion of the A.N.Z.U.S. pact is by no means as radical a departure from their former policies by the Pacific dominions as it might appear. Australia (and to a lesser extent New Zealand, which is partly shielded to the west and north by the bulk of its fellow-dominion) has long been conscious of its strategic vulnerability when Britain was committed in Europe, and this knowledge (though it did not, until 1941, penetrate far beyond official circles) has always influenced Australian foreign policy, if only by shaping the viewpoint it upheld in intra-Imperial consultation. During the late nineteenth century Australian pressure took the form principally of a demand for a more assertive and acquisitive policy by Britain in the Pacific, resulting, for instance, in the annexation by the then colony of Queensland of part of New Guinea in 1883. But perhaps it might be said that the basic Australian consciousness of being a western island off the rim of Asia

has emerged less in defence and foreign policy than in its firmly—and rather loudly—asserted immigration policy of exclusion of non-Europeans. Though the official basis of the 'White Australia' policy is purely economic, one element in it is an unstated determination not to take in a 'Trojan horse' of non-European citizens, who might at best be an embarrassment and possibly a serious danger in the event of conflict with one of its Asian neighbours. Even before federation the Australian colonies watched Asia anxiously for signs of the emergence of a naval power that might ultimately prove a threat to their survival. Since the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905 Australian public opinion has cast Japan for the rôle of principal danger, and on the whole still does so, despite the growth in power of the Russia-China complex.

One result of this chilly consciousness of insecurity during the 'thirties was to ensure that Australia's voice at Imperial Conferences tended to favour policies of appeasement in the hope of avoiding war. Thus Australia did not, either in 1931 or in 1937, demand action by the League against Japan, being aware that a League which did not include Pacific powers could hardly restrain aggression in the Pacific; in 1935 Australia favoured conciliation of Italy because of the danger to communications through Suez which were thought likely to arise through antagonising Mussolini over Abyssinia, and in 1938 the Australian Prime Minister strongly supported the Munich Agreement. On the other hand, when the aftermath of Munich had shown that peace could not be secured in this fashion, Australia had no hesitation about adhering to the new British line, though there is some suggestion that she did not view with any enthusiasm the efforts at a rapprochement between Britain, France, and Russia, because of its possible effect on Japan.

But if there was some intellectual appreciation of the tenuousness of Britain's power in the Pacific even in the late 'thirties, it was the emotional impact of the events immediately following Japan's entry into the war that inaugurated the new period of Australian foreign policy which has produced A.N.Z.U.S. The sinking of the 'Prince of Wales' and the 'Repulse,' the fall of Singapore, and the sight of four great colonial empires in South-East Asia—the American, the French, the Dutch, and the

British—crumpling like so much tissue paper before the advance of Japan were followed in Australia, as a distinguished Australian has said, not only with grief and amazement, but with resentment. Mr Curtin's speech of Dec. 28, 1941, in which he said that Australia 'looked to America, free from any inhibitions as to traditional ties of kinship with the United Kingdom,' was in essence merely a recognition of the changed security landscape in the Pacific, but its overtones were those of a fairly widespread emotional mood of the period.

In the harsh world of international politics, the first law of survival for a small, vulnerable, and intransigent power such as Australia is the possession of a powerful friend, 'powerful' being the operative word. The experience of the war had suggested that this rôle could no longer be filled by the Royal Navy, and Australian foreign policy since the war can be read as a search for a substitute, with A.N.Z.U.S. representing some measure of success, though not by any means an unqualified one. The first move was the Canberra Agreement (sometimes called the A.N.Z.A.C. pact) between Australia and New Zealand in 1944, which envisaged the establishment of a defensive area based on Australia and New Zealand and, as it were, served notice that the two Pacific dominions were pursuing foreign policies in which their own part of the world would be seen as central rather than peripheral. It is true that in the immediate post-war period Dr Evatt, the then Australian Minister of External Affairs, proclaimed that support of the United Nations was the central element of Australian foreign policy, and that this might seem rather a divergence from the single-minded pursuit of security through self-help and alliances that has otherwise characterised Australian policy. However, though he no doubt saw the rule of law, or a collective security system that actually worked, as the best assurance of safety for a small power, and was in addition ideologically disposed to see the causes of war in economic and social frictions which he envisaged the U.N. as helping to remedy, it could not be said that Dr Evatt's policy was based on the belief that the security system set up at San Francisco would prove effective. Much of the effort of the Labour Government was directed to obtaining a regional security arrangement, in which a mutual defence agreement with the U.S. would

be the essential element. However, from the U.S. point of view there was little reason, until the time of the Japanese Peace Treaty, to agree to such a scheme, since it would amount in fact to the extending of a U.S. guarantee to the areas concerned without producing any reciprocal increase of U.S. strength in the area.

The three agreements which together, as far as the Western camp is concerned, make up the Pacific peace settlement—the Japanese Peace Treaty, the U.S.–Japan Defense Agreement, and the Mutual Security Treaty between the U.S. and Australia and New Zealand (A.N.Z.U.S.)—must be considered together if they are to be adequately understood. The Peace Treaty is a mild one, imposing no reparations or limitations of sovereignty ; the only provisions that could be regarded as other than generous are the territorial ones, by which Japan is stripped of her acquisitions of the past sixty years and reduced again to the home islands. The clause which was most difficult for Japan's smaller Pacific neighbours to swallow is Article 5 (e) : ' The Allied Powers for their part recognise that Japan as a sovereign nation possesses the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence referred to in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and that Japan may voluntarily enter into collective security arrangements.' The effect of this clause is to restore to Japan the right to re-establish her armed forces without any qualifications as to size or type, though presumably she will have to repeal Article 9 of her present Constitution, which renounces force as an instrument of policy, before any substantial degree of rearmament can be effected. Essentially A.N.Z.U.S. is a concession extended by the U.S. to Australia and New Zealand in recompense for their agreement not to press too strongly their objections to this clause and the rearmament of Japan.

Under it the parties agree :

- (a) to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack ;
- (b) to consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence, or security of any of the parties is threatened in the Pacific ;

- (c) each to recognise that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to the peace and safety of all, and each to act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes ;
- (d) to set up a Council (rather on the lines of a miniature of the N.A.T.O. Council) to put the treaty into effect.

The third treaty, the U.S.-Japan Defence Agreement, provides that certain bases shall be ceded by Japan to America and that U.S. troops shall remain in Japan until Japan is strong enough to defend itself ; it also provides for certain financial and administrative arrangements.

Though A.N.Z.U.S. was almost certainly the best bargain Australia could have hoped to make with the U.S. in the circumstances of 1951 (since she could not, in the last analysis, have prevented the U.S. from going ahead with the Japanese Peace Treaty anyway), the solution was not one that greatly commended itself either to public opinion or to the statesmen in charge of the negotiations. According to a Gallup Poll taken at the time of passing of the bill to ratify the Peace Treaty, 63 per cent. of the public were opposed to the Treaty being ratified, and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr Richard Casey, admitted in his statement to the House that the Treaty 'did not meet with all the wishes of Australia, or indeed of any of the other Allied nations which have contributed to its formulation.'

The doubts that resulted in the unfavourable view taken by public opinion are probably almost entirely connected with the vision of a rearmed Japan embarking on a new career of conquest, and are based additionally on the belief that only a maritime power can effectively threaten Australia, and the estimate that Japan is the only Asian country with the technological development or the reservoir of engineering skill to enable it to embark, within the foreseeable future, on large-scale shipbuilding. This is all perfectly true, and it should be read with the fact that, at her present rate of population increase, Japan will reach the hundred-million mark in about fifteen years, and will be obliged to try to support that population without even the help of the resources in Korea and Manchuria that helped her to support her pre-war 73 million. An adapt-

able, resourceful, and intensely nationalistic people like the Japanese do not sit down and starve quietly. Under the stress of economic difficulties Japan may move to the right, as in the 'thirties, or to the left, but in either case the transformation of China from a divided and inefficient country to a united and formidable one (allied, moreover, to the other great land-power, Russia) means that the mainland of northern Asia is by no means as attractive a proposition for conquest as it was in the 'thirties. The remaining 'soft' areas in the Pacific are the portions of South-east Asia not within China's immediate proximity (Malaya, Indonesia) or Australia and New Zealand.

Considering these circumstances, it is not surprising that Australia clings to the form of insurance provided by A.N.Z.U.S., and that the Australian Press and public have taken rather a testy view of British objections. Australia's position vis-à-vis Japan is curiously parallel to France's position vis-à-vis Germany. Both are in situations of essential long-term insecurity, for demographic reasons, and both have had to see the old enemy become the new ally, without being able to convince themselves that the change in alignment is accompanied by a change of heart.

In both cases also there is a new as well as an old danger. In the Pacific this second threat is, of course, the expansion of the Communist bloc either by force or by conversion of the effervescing nationalist movements of South Asia. It is to the 'containing' of Asian communism that American policy, especially the U.S.-Japan Defence agreement, is orientated, and it is true that the dangers and problems that would result from the extension of Communist power in South-east Asia look much closer at present than the dangers of a resurgent Japan. Yet the ferment in Asia is a great deal more than a Kremlin plot, and a policy that deals with Asian social revolution and Asian nationalism purely on the basis of maintaining the relative power positions of the Communist and Western camps may run into greater dangers than those it seeks to avoid. This is a consideration that is particularly important for Australia, since her hungry and multitudinous northern neighbours in Asia will remain among the arbiters of her destiny even when the struggle between Russia and the West has been resolved. In the early post-war period there were strong signs that Australia was endeavouring

to come to terms with Asian nationalism especially, for instance, in her sponsorship of the Indonesian case in the Security Council, but since 1950 this effort (except perhaps in the economic sphere, with the Colombo Plan) appears to have been abandoned; and the fact that Australia has had to choose between Britain's policy and America's and has chosen America's has been one of the elements in the change.

But though it could have been (and, indeed, was) predicted, in the early 1940s, that if there were a divergence between British and American policy in Asia, Australia would be obliged to follow America, it could hardly have been foreseen, until after the war, that Britain, the arch-colonial power, would come to terms with the revolution there more rapidly and more readily than America, the anti-colonial power. Yet it is Britain that has acquiesced in the changes that the past few decades have made in the area, not only by quitting India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon, but by her recognition of the new régime in China, her advocacy of its admission to the United Nations, and her wish to resume normal trade and diplomatic relations. On the other hand, the American attitude has been at best of non-acquiescence in the change in China and seemed at one stage during the MacArthur period in Korea to be likely to turn into an active policy of 'liberation,' an attempt at an armed intervention that would have been equivalent to the Allied interventions in Russia after the First World War. Fortunately, more moderate counsels prevailed and any active effort to reverse the situation in China now seems unlikely. However, the U.S. is still committed to the preservation of a counter-revolutionary government and army in Formosa, and to a policy of diplomatic and trade isolation of China, and it may be a long time before these policies can be substantially modified. After all, it was fifteen years before America recognised the Russian revolutionary government.

Though the original decision of Australia and New Zealand not to extend recognition when Britain and the Asian dominions did so at the beginning of 1950 was perhaps as much connected with the elections that had just taken place in both countries as with questions of principle, their general orientation with America has made necessary a persistence in this policy. Some of the Press reports of

the A.N.Z.U.S. Council meeting in Washington, in September 1953, spoke of Mr Dulles having obtained an undertaking from the two dominion governments that they would not recognise the Communist régime in China. A.N.Z.U.S. is a neat illustration of the mutability of human institutions: what was entered into less than three years ago by Australia and New Zealand primarily as a guarantee against Japan has become a possible commitment against China, so that if, for instance, there were a flare-up between the U.S. and China over Formosa and a U.S. ship were fired on by China, the U.S. could invoke the A.N.Z.U.S. Pact and ask for Australian and New Zealand support—though Britain, on the other hand, has always dissociated itself with some care from U.S. policy on Formosa. There may indeed be said to be three Commonwealth policies to China—the Indian attitude of actively seeking a rapprochement, the A.N.Z.U.S. attitude, and a British attitude which is somewhere between the two, but rather closer to India than A.N.Z.U.S.

One of the reasons for maintaining that Britain's voice might with benefit be heard in A.N.Z.U.S. is that it is a moderating one, anxious above all that the power-resources of the Western world should not become so heavily involved in Asia as to facilitate Soviet expansion elsewhere: to avoid the wrong war in the wrong place with the wrong enemy. This prudential consideration means a tolerance with regard to Asia that seems more likely to produce a workable form of coexistence than America's more vigorous policies.

One British reaction to A.N.Z.U.S. has been to concentrate on the building-up of A.N.Z.A.M. (Australia—New Zealand—Malaya), a little-known service planning agency concerned with the defence of Malaya. The visit of Sir John Harding, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, to Australia and New Zealand in October 1953 to discuss 'common problems in the defence of the Pacific and the Far East generally' was one pointer in this direction. This visit was the outcome of talks on the possible consequences of the Korean truce, held between Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their June 1953 meeting in London.

A.N.Z.A.M. and A.N.Z.U.S. together may look like the beginnings of a Pacific version of N.A.T.O., but it has only been since American opinion became alarmed over the

deterioration of the French position in Indo-China, the increasing Chinese intervention, and its implications for the rest of South-east Asia, that they have been willing to consider the transformation of A.N.Z.U.S. into, or its supersession by, a security arrangement adequately covering the area. The U.S. was not enthusiastic about undertaking the responsibilities in which it is involved through the A.N.Z.U.S. arrangement, and was anxious to keep them to a minimum. Its original strategic perimeter in the Pacific was an 'off-shore' one, that is, it involved no commitments on the mainland of Asia: the countries concerned were ones that can be protected essentially by naval action—Japan, Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. This is the concept that was set forth in Mr Acheson's famous speech to the National Press Club in January 1950, in which he defined the limits of the U.S. vital interest as running from Japan to the Ryukus and the Philippines. It is clear that this viewpoint has been temporarily, at least, outmoded by events: Korea showed that the U.S. would regard its interests as involved with some areas of the mainland of Asia, and Mr Dulles's proposal of 'United Action' on Indo-China has underlined the lesson. On the other hand, the U.S. Senate's reaction to the Indo-China proposal is an indication that American reluctance to undertake any further specific commitments on the mainland of Asia is still a force that may delay the setting up of an effective security arrangement. Moreover, if Britain and France were admitted, without any other change in membership, the Pact would wear too much the aspect of an alliance of Western powers against Asia, and the U.S. in particular is anxious to avoid this. This objection could be overcome by the recruitment of the independent non-Communist Asian nations, such as India, Burma, and Indonesia, to the Pact, but in fact none of these states would be in the least interested in joining at present, since they are preoccupied with maintaining their neutrality. Finally, any general Pacific Council would have to include Japan as one of its most powerful members, and reconciling public opinion in Australia and New Zealand to such a move would be a difficult task. The proposal recently to include some Japanese technicians in an A.N.Z.U.S. survey party raised considerable indignation in those countries, and had to be withdrawn.

Considerations of this sort were no doubt behind Mr Casey's emphasis in his statement, at the end of the Washington Conference of A.N.Z.U.S., that there were no prospects of a wider security alliance in the Pacific. Australia and New Zealand might be glad of Britain's entry to the agreement, but they could not press her claims for fear that the U.S. might be inclined, while leaving the pact in existence, to put it, as it were, 'on pension' and let its consultative machinery become a dead letter, thus depriving them of the opportunity to influence U.S. strategy and priorities in the area.

South-east Asia shares with the Middle East the unhappy distinction of being, from a security point of view, the least well-covered part of the world. The political conditions that must underlie any effective security system do not as yet exist: there is no Pacific or South-east Asian community to supply a basis for a Pacific pact, as there is an Atlantic community to supply one for N.A.T.O. But as the events in Europe in 1948, especially the Czech coup, acted as a sort of catalyst to produce the North Atlantic Treaty, so those in Indo-China are, at a rather slower rate, having the same effect in South-east Asia. A further swing in the balance of power, possibly through a consolidation of the Communist gains in Vietnam, or a French decision that they can no longer go on fighting there, should produce a more unified front of 'containment' of Communist expansion by the non-Communist powers of the area. Britain originally sought participation in America's Pacific security arrangements in the context of the defence of Australia, New Zealand and Malaya: the logic of events has produced it instead in the politically more difficult context of support for the French stand in Malaya. Yet the danger is essentially the same, and the factors that have previously governed Britain's ability to exert strength in the Pacific will still be operative.

CORAL BELL

Art. 2.—THE HISTORY OF PERJURY.

I HAVE no doubt that if the question were put to a representative body of citizens, 'What are the most serious offences against the State which an evil-minded person can commit?' the great majority of answers would put the crime of perjury very near the top of the list. They would take the view, often expressed from the Bench, that this offence cuts at the very root of the administration of justice, and if not checked in the sternest manner and with the severest penalties, would render Courts of Justice useless. And I should agree with them to the full extent. But in fact this heinous crime, with its attendant misdemeanour, subornation of perjury—that is, the procuration of perjury by others—is not and never has been one of those rendering the offender liable to the heaviest penalties.

It is doubtless common knowledge among those interested in such matters that our Trial by Jury has grown in the course of centuries into something very unlike what our ancestors regarded as the main function of such a body of citizens. In fact, the decision of cases following upon the detailed evidence of witnesses was unknown until a comparatively modern period in our history. The original notion of a criminal trial was that it consisted in the hearing of an accusation against an accused person made upon oath by those persons who knew most about the matter. In those days, therefore, the function or one of the functions of a jury summoned as including the principal persons in a county was to inform the King, through his representative the Judge, what crimes had been committed in the county and by whom. The members of such a jury would not necessarily be by any means disinterested persons.

The Judge, after a trial which we should regard as a very perfunctory performance, then passed sentence. In such a state of affairs there does not appear to have been any person who could be guilty of the crime of perjury as we know it, that is the making of a wilfully false statement upon oath.

The next step seems to have been the gradual separation of the jury into two bodies one of which came to be known as the Grand Jury, and which in many ways continued to represent what we should call the prosecution,

and the other the Petty Jury, who heard the witnesses afresh and introduced, as it would seem for the first time, the novel feature of hearing the defence before proceeding to decide the guilt or otherwise of the accused person. Traces of this method of approaching the matter were still to be found in the form of indictment in use in modern times—until in fact the passing of the Indictments Act, 1915, which completely altered the form of indictment. The form in use when I began to practise consisted of an allegation termed a 'presentment' upon oath by the members of the Grand Jury that the accused person was believed to be guilty of the crime alleged in the body of the indictment which issue was therefore sent forward to be decided by a petty jury. It is said that in early days a false oath if proved was treated as a contempt of court and was usually punished by a fine. However that may be, there is no doubt that the making of a false accusation was regarded in the time of the Star Chamber as a punishable offence, but before the law in this respect was settled there seems to have been a prolonged wrangle among lawyers, some holding that such punishment 'might deter the King's witnesses from giving their testimony.' It was also doubted whether, after sentence in the original case had been pronounced, it was desirable that the matter should be reopened, since if it should appear on further examination that the deposition of the witness was false 'it overthroweth the sentence,' as indeed it might and ought according to our ideas. Stephen in his book on Criminal Law goes on to relate that in later times the manifest corruption of witnesses had the effect of establishing the custom of punishing perjury when clearly proved, 'for that otherwise wicked and perjured persons might ruin any man.' Even then there remained what has been stigmatised as a 'monstrous exception' according to our ideas, for it was decided that perjury committed against a man on trial for his life, where the party is convicted and judgment given, was nevertheless *not itself punishable*. The reasons given were :

- (1) That it might deter men from giving evidence for the King.
- (2) The fear lest it should bring a public scandal upon the Justice of the Kingdom.

Our modern approach to such ideas and arguments is so different from that of our ancestors that it is useless and even harmful to consider in the light of what we understand by justice the actions and the reasons given for the actions of our forefathers, who were doubtless honest men as well as learned lawyers. To us it seems little less than wicked to hush up the case of a person wrongly convicted and sentenced for fear that 'Justice' would suffer in the exposure of the perjury leading to that denial of justice.

This, however, is not a treatise upon morality. Let us consider rather the prevalence or otherwise of perjury in our courts to-day. Perjury as a crime has for many years consisted in making a wilfully false statement material to the issue in a judicial proceeding and is punishable with the maximum penalty of seven years' imprisonment, that is less than the maximum sentence for the crime of larceny by a servant of his master's goods, or the offence of killing an animal with intent to steal the carcase.

If I am not presumptuous in offering an opinion upon English witnesses in general, I should like to take this opportunity of stating my firm belief that wilful perjury in ordinary civil causes is very, very rarely committed. Many people in the witness-box exaggerate grossly, and in their very extravagance defeat their own object, since they make it clear to an independent tribunal that they are stating rather what they hope will be the verdict upon the facts than merely such matters as struck them at the time as proved because they saw them committed.

Perjury committed in divorce cases is, I fear, common. I express no further opinion on the subject, partly because I know less than most people about the workings of that Court, partly because I cannot forget that society at large used to regard it as the duty of a gentleman, upon being cited as co-respondent, to lie upon oath in support of the lady, so long as she was contesting the case.* For aught I know that ethical view may still prevail. In any event divorce formed no part of the judicial system of this country, nor was it allied to the common law. It is entirely the creation of modern statutes.

With regard to the evidence upon oath of persons accused of crime and of their wives, it is notorious that the

* See the rider to the verdict of the jury in the case of *Campbell v. Campbell*, referred to at p. 16 of 'A Book of Trials,' by the present author.

lawyers in Parliament, particularly those in the Upper House, withstood the popular demand for an alteration in the law for some years after the privilege of testifying upon oath had been accorded to the parties in a civil dispute. They did so for two main reasons: firstly, they feared a great increase in perjury; and secondly, they foresaw a gradual weakening of that salutary rule which called upon the prosecution to prove by evidence every material fact in the case against the accused, our system providing as it did that the person accused should not even be asked the simple question, 'Are you guilty?' until he is face to face with the Judge and jury who are to try him. The Earl of Halsbury, Lord Chancellor, and Sir Harry Poland, Q.C., with their great experience of the Central Criminal Court were under no misapprehension upon either point, but as the former, himself one of the strongest supporters of the measure, observed, there was no logical answer to the argument that the person who, *ex concessis*, knew most about the facts of the case should have the right, if he chose to exercise it, of giving his version upon oath. Hence that curious statute, The Criminal Evidence Act, 1898, which in its terms betrays the fear that it may prove to be a very doubtful blessing for the accused. The statute certainly does its best to protect the accused, whether he does or does not take advantage of its provisions.

The two great lawyers above named were further agreed that the alteration in the law would result in an increased percentage of convictions, as it undoubtedly has. That in itself is not unsatisfactory, since it has been well observed that the criminal law exists to punish the guilty as well as to clear the innocent, though it is certain that the enthusiasts in the House of Commons had no such end in view. Now I am one of a small and rapidly decreasing number of barristers who practised under both systems. I heard scores of cases tried at the Old Bailey and Middlesex Sessions under the old practice during the first ten years of my professional life. When the new system started in 1899 the 'old lags' were at first very reluctant to exchange the shelter of the dock for the glare of the witness-box, where they would have to face this new terror of cross-examination. Gerald Geoghegan, the eloquent Irishman who had at that time the largest practice in defending cases, told us in the robing-room that in at least fifty per

cent. of cases his client would elect not to give evidence upon oath, his decision being expressed in some such language as, 'Rather leave it to you, Guv'nor. You can tell the tale better than I can.'

Whatever may have been the result of the Act so far as accused persons were concerned, there can be no doubt that it completely altered the task of defending counsel. Under the old system counsel was not at liberty to suggest that the jury should find the facts to be so and so, when there was no evidence to support such a finding, but he could and frequently did construct a theory consistent with his client's innocence and invite the jury to hold that his theory was one which they could accept, since the 'only man who knows for certain what the true facts are is unable to tell you his story on oath. How can you gentlemen be convinced that it would be safe to convict, since the prosecution must establish his guilt beyond any reasonable doubt?'

All such pleas were, if not abolished, at least very obviously weakened when the simple reply became, 'Contrast the prisoner's evidence with that for the prosecution. If his story is rejected, what remains but a finding of guilt?'

Whether intentionally or not, the provisions of Section 2 of the Act struck a deadly blow at a concocted defence. That section provides that where the accused is the only witness to fact called for the defence he must give evidence immediately after the close of the evidence for the prosecution and before his counsel addresses the jury. This prevents the astute prisoner from attempting to make his evidence fit in with the theories which his counsel has put forward and equally makes it difficult for counsel to cross-examine in advance the witnesses for the prosecution upon a line which the defendant himself, when his turn comes, may refuse to adopt in his own evidence.

To-day, while the advocacy and the ingenuity of the Bar are fully up to the standards of the past, I believe that few regular defending counsel will complain that I am belittling their efforts if I suggest that they can do little more for a guilty man than to help the lame dog over the stile and perhaps in a speech to the jury to do something to disguise the effect of the rents and scratches in his garment of innocence which have been caused by a possibly too

effective cross-examination. I repeat the words 'for a guilty man.'

An innocent man is no more in peril of conviction than under the old system and I may add very little less so. An accused person was always permitted to make a statement to the jury himself, even when he had the assistance of counsel, and was listened to by the jury with a not unsympathetic interest, so long as the theory advanced was not too far divorced from the evidence. True, his statement was not 'evidence,' but, as Lord Halsbury observed in the course of the passage of the Criminal Evidence Bill through the House of Lords, 'A Jury of Englishmen may be trusted not to allow themselves to be misled by nonsense merely because the nonsense is stated under the sanction of an oath.'

So far I have said nothing on the subject of a possibly false prosecution supported by perjured evidence. I have never myself come across such a case except in that curious type of accusation, common forty or fifty years ago and not unknown to-day, in which a woman of good reputation charges another person, almost invariably an equally respectable woman, with such an offence as obscene libel or sending indecent matter through the post, the truth being that the prosecutrix herself has written and uttered the incriminating documents, libellous of herself, apparently with the sole object of bringing trouble to a completely innocent person. The explanation, if indeed that is the right expression to use, was in every case a medical one, her conduct being due to some mental aberration connected with sex. In a collection of cases published by the late Mr Bechhofer Roberts he refers at length to one such case in which I was engaged.

I dealt with the matter in some detail in my book 'Criminal Days.' A case which was brought to my notice in the year 1920, but in which I was not concerned, appeared at first sight to be a plain case of perjury on the part of one of the two persons engaged. A respected citizen gave into custody another man as having committed an act of indecent assault upon him in a lavatory. He was the only material witness for the prosecution. The accused, a man of a rougher type but of exemplary character, vehemently protested his innocence. Being committed for trial he was very properly acquitted, the

case against him, put at its highest, being one of oath against oath. What struck the learned Commissioner who tried the case as peculiar and difficult to understand was a rider returned by the jury with their verdict of Not Guilty—as follows: ‘In the opinion of the Jury there is no reflexion to be cast upon the character of either party.’ Less than two months afterwards the prosecutor was certified as a lunatic.

Once again a jury had, unaided, solved the problem, and not only had they returned a correct verdict but in the most delicate manner had expressed what was in the end shown to be without doubt the real explanation for this unfounded charge.

TRAVERS HUMPHREYS

Art. 3.—QUEENS CONSORT.

MANY of the ladies who have worn the crown matrimonial of England are shadowy figures, remembered chiefly by sporadic, often apocryphal, incidents which have appealed to the popular imagination : Matilda of Flanders stitching patiently at the Bayeux tapestry ; Margaret of Anjou pleading with the robber ; Philippa of Hainault interceding for the burghers of Calais. But from the early sixteenth century they cease to be legendary. Records, letters, and portraits survive which enable us to assess their personal qualities, looks, talents, and sufferings. 'Great Flanders Mare,' 'Eruditissima Regina,' 'Good Queen Charlotte,' 'Nasty German Frau'—are these labels justified ? To what extent were their lives conditioned and their actions determined by heredity, ill health, a deprived childhood, an intolerable marriage, or frustrated maternal instincts ? What manner of women were those stately, decorative royal sitters who look down from the walls of historic houses into the inquiring, upturned faces of the half-crown visitor ?

Though lacking in glamour, Catharine of Aragon contrived to hold Henry VIII's respect, if not his fidelity, for twenty years—which, in view of his subsequent matrimonial history, was no mean achievement. But a succession of sickly and dying infants (for whose syphilitic characteristics he appears to have been responsible), disappointed him and, neighing after a more alluring young lady, he suddenly became conscience-stricken lest his marriage with his middle-aged Queen was displeasing to Heaven on grounds of consanguinity. Catharine refused indignantly to question her matrimonial status after twenty years : to connive, would be to declare their only surviving daughter illegitimate—and not only was Mary heiress to the English throne, but she was also in the line of succession to that of Spain. Nor would she end the impasse by feigning a religious vocation which she did not feel. Henry tried to break down her resistance by brutal means, but neither insult, poverty, imprisonment, separation from her child, nor even his wedding with his concubine in defiance of all the laws of Christendom could intimidate the Queen, who died in prison of cancer at the age of fifty-one, still refusing proudly to sell her daughter's birthright or bow the knee to Baal as personified in her husband.

Typical cruel stepmother of fairy lore, Anne Boleyn had great personal magnetism. Ambitious child of a parvenu family, she was educated in France, where she acquired a sophistication rare among her countrywomen. Returning to England at fifteen, she set out deliberately to captivate the King. A heartless little adventuress, utterly ruthless towards those who stood in her path, Anne played her hand adroitly; Henry was soon enamoured with her long hair and enormous, beckoning black eyes—and he failed to notice the extra thumb which was then regarded as the sure indication of a witch. Although her sister had been his mistress, Anne aimed higher. With feline skill she eluded his lascivious embraces for seven years; only when it became certain that a pregnancy would secure the crown matrimonial did she allow herself to be seduced. The populace, who liked fair play and respectability in high places, murmured at this liaison, but, confident that the expected baby would prove a son, Henry divorced Catharine unilaterally, married Anne secretly, and eight months afterwards was presented by his new Queen with a red-headed daughter. He was furious. Terror-stricken, Anne tried to excite his jealousy by ill-advised flirtations; but the King was forty-three, his wife only twenty-seven, and he merely felt aggrieved. His passion assuaged, he had already tired of her and was ogling one of her ladies. The birth of a stillborn son sealed the Queen's fate. She was brought to trial and found guilty of incest and adultery with no less than five men, though no evidence of infidelity survives and she denied it to the terrible end. Anne was not the sort to risk her crown or her head for love.

Jane Seymour, a plain sallow girl with a big nose, was twenty-six when she caught Henry's roving eye. Weary of emotional upsets with the Queen, he found Jane's placid disposition soothing, and made improper advances. His attentions were abhorrent to her and entirely unsolicited; she returned his money and amorous missives. When he became a widower, however, and was abetted by her worldly relatives, she was helpless, and within ten days of Anne's execution, superseded her. Jane's brief married life did credit to her kind heart. She reconciled Henry with Mary; but when she pleaded for the restoration of the nationalised church lands, he warned her ferociously to mind her own business, which was to produce an heir. The birth of the

future Edward VI was difficult and dangerous ; but having planned a christening of the first magnitude, the King expected his wife to grace it ; and, though her son was but ten days old, the exhausted young mother was dragged from her bed at Richmond and made to ride through London. Two days later she was dead.

Oblivious to the fact that he was responsible for her demise, Henry mourned Jane sincerely for nearly two years, after which, on the strength of a misleading portrait by Holbein, he married Anne of Cleves, a homely, ill-educated girl of twenty-four, who, speaking only German, could not converse with him. When he met his portly bride he was aghast—so different was she from her portrait—and though compelled by political necessity to accept her, he had already resolved to replace her. Six months later the terrified woman consented thankfully to the annulment of her uneasy marriage and, in return for her compliance, was treated with social and financial consideration, though forbidden to return home or to marry. After seventeen lonely years, neither wife nor widow and fearful always of incurring the King's displeasure, she died meekly as she had lived.

Catharine Howard was a motherless girl of nineteen when she fell victim to Henry's evil concupiscence. Badly brought up by a negligent grandmother, who, caring little about what went on below stairs, had no idea that her ward was not chaste, Catharine was evidently a *jolie laide*, and the King's sudden infatuation for her explains his repugnance for Anne. Cynical politicians fostered his dangerous passion and, within a month of Anne's repudiation, Catharine was Queen. Henry was enchanted with his bride, of whose pre-marital shortcomings he was blissfully unaware. But her enemies were vigilant, and thirteen months after his wedding he was apprised of her frailty, both before and after the ceremony. Threats and promises of pardon elicited from her a confession of antenuptial misbehaviour ; but this was not high treason, and no proof of adultery was forthcoming. Nevertheless, she was doomed. The King was fifty and had been made to look foolish by his young wife ; this he could not forgive. Distracted with fear, the hysterical girl was arrested at Hampton Court (where her pitiful wraith still haunts the long gallery, screaming and pleading for her life), and was beheaded on Tower Hill at the age of twenty-one.

If the acquisition of four husbands was any indication of personal attraction, Catharine Parr, though a theologian and classical scholar, was no grim book-worm. When, bruised in spirit after his humiliating experience with Catharine Howard a year earlier, Henry made sheep's eyes at her, she was thirty and had been twice widowed. Desperately she tried to evade his, for once, honourable intentions, but was soon in his relentless clutches. As Queen, Catharine smoothed his ruffled feathers and struggled to promote domestic harmony. She persuaded him to restore his daughters, both of whom he had declared illegitimate, to the succession, and she encouraged them to study and think of things other than religious strife, matrimonial upheavals, and their mothers' tragic ends. But Henry had a bad leg and was getting old, disagreeable, and crabbed. After a theological argument in which he was worsted, furious that the Queen should know more than he, he ordered her arrest for heresy; only her tact and charm saved her. When his death released her after four years of bondage, she married her former fiancé and died of puerperal fever in her thirty-seventh year.

A platinum blonde with a pale skin and a pink nose, Anne of Denmark resembled a white rabbit physically and mentally. At sixteen she was married by proxy to James VI of Scotland, who, romantically enough, went to search for her in Norway where she was stormbound. When she reached Edinburgh after a protracted honeymoon, she found the morose Calvinistic atmosphere oppressive, and, though a Lutheran, was suspected of popish inclinations and accused of 'not repairing to the Word and Sacraments, night walking, balling and such like.' But though dressy and extravagant, Anne was highly respectable and produced her quiverful of babies, whom James, thinking her empty-headed, handed over to guardians. Deprived thus of maternal responsibilities, the Queen turned to trivial and frivolous amusements which scandalised her Scottish subjects. On James's accession to the English throne, the comfort and luxury of the south delighted her after the rough living conditions at Holyrood under the suspicious eye of the Kirk. The Londoners appreciated pageantry and were less preoccupied with Sabbath-observance. Although she inherited Queen Elizabeth's fabulous hoard of jewels and finery and was now wealthy, Anne launched out

so lavishly on building operations, furnishings, and personal adornment that she was soon chronically insolvent—as were Charles I and II, who inherited her reckless enthusiasm for beautiful things. After the death of her first-born and favourite son at eighteen, she became estranged from her husband owing to her dalliance with Rome and consequent refusal to go to church with him; and they lived apart, by mutual agreement, until she died in her forty-sixth year—still a Protestant and still heavily in debt.

Her daughter-in-law, Henrietta Maria of France, 'the lovely sweet young creature,' with perfect features and shining eyes, was one of England's most beautiful queens. In Charles I, whom she married at sixteen, she found a faithful, conscientious, and very obstinate husband—but at first she failed to appreciate her good fortune. Temperamental, impulsive, and determined to have her own way, she alternately fascinated and exasperated the long-suffering, shy young man, who was rather frightened of her. Henrietta had no inhibitions. She refused him cohabitation; she refused to be crowned; she walked barefoot to Tyburn—partly from Catholic fervour, mainly to defy Charles after a monetary quarrel. After three years of stormy matrimony the King determined to exercise his authority and dismissed the French retainers who encouraged her intransigent attitude. A tempestuous scene, during which he locked his diminutive consort into her apartments, where she broke all the windows, resulted in an equally tempestuous reconciliation. Firm treatment appealed to Henrietta's Latin instincts and she became an obedient and loving wife and a prolific, if possessive, mother. She soon acquired a fatal influence over the King. Though not deeply religious, she was zealous in Catholic observance in order to annoy the Puritans, whom she enjoyed shocking by her gaiety and extravagance. Actually, her recreations were harmless enough: much money went to artists and craftsmen, and, despite Cromwell's dismal iconoclasm, has benefited posterity. Financially, this granddaughter of the Medici was realistic. When civil war broke out she rose to the occasion gallantly, and, realising that handsome young men on fine horses were not enough, crossed to Holland in order to pawn some of the crown jewels. Returning to Hull with considerable supplies of arms, she remained at her husband's side until compelled to

retire to Exeter for the birth of their youngest daughter. From there, being cut off from him, she fled to France to avoid capture, and acted as his Continental agent. After his judicial murder, dependent for everything on her relatives, she led a life of penurious devotion. At fifty-one she returned jubilantly to Restoration London ; but finding she was a back number, finally settled in France, where the atmosphere—spiritual and climatic—was more congenial. She died, dramatically and catastrophically as she had lived, from an overdose of sleeping tablets erroneously prescribed by her physician.

The duenna-conditioned girlhood of Catharine of Braganza was not calculated to prepare her for marriage with Charles II, then at the height of his inordinate affection for Barbara Castlemaine. Although the bridegroom told a friend, ' there is nothing in her face that can disgust one,' and some painters suggest a piquante, snub-nosed prettiness, she could not hope to compete with the bare-bosomed wantons who ogled their way into flats in Whitehall. When she discovered the significance of the *mâîtresse-en-titre* she refused to have her in her household, and only submitted tearfully under formidable pressure. Once she abandoned her struggle against his harem, the King, whom she idolised, was kind to her in his queer way, and always treated her with courtesy and respect. But her ill health and sterility in the face of his large brood of healthy natural children by at least seven different mothers, menaced her security—though the danger came, not from him, but from his political adversaries. Twice Catharine faced disaster : first the threat of divorce in favour of some more prolific Protestant spouse, and then the charge of conspiring with the Jesuits to poison her husband. Each time Charles stood by her and saved her, for which she gave him dog-like devotion, and showed her gratitude in the only way open to her, by receiving his concubines civilly and treating their progeny with real kindness. Childless, insufficiently educated to seek solace in things of the mind, wisely keeping out of politics, there was nothing for her to do but perform her devotions and hoard her jointure (both of which she did fervently). In her widowhood, she earned widespread respect by her chilly but correct attitude towards the next two unpopular sovereigns, culminating in her dignified return to her homeland. At sixty-five she became regent of Portu-

gal, where, proving very able and just, she died deeply lamented by the Portuguese.

Nature intended Mary of Modena, her sister-in-law, for one of Europe's great Mothers Superior; only the conviction that her marriage would forward the conversion of England to Roman Catholicism induced her to transfer her undoubted religious vocation from the cloister to the Court of St James. Far from being the ugly bigot of a jaundiced Whig tradition, all her contemporaries—friend and foe alike—testify to her velvety black eyes and shell-like colouring when she arrived, an unwilling bride of fifteen, as the second wife of James, Duke of York. A series of miscarriages, stillbirths, and syphilitic babies—victims of their father's promiscuity—saddened her early married life. During the Popish Plot hysteria, she saw her religion reviled and mocked and her personal friends imprisoned and executed at the instigation of a homicidal demagogue; and she herself was exiled and parted from her only child, who died in her absence. Despite her husband's infidelity, Mary was an adoring, but never servile, wife, and a conscientious but undemonstrative mother—regarding her children primarily as instruments for the redemption of their country. Exceptionally well-educated, corresponding in four languages and writing better English than her British-born stepdaughters, she introduced opera and ballet to England and brought artists, craftsmen, and musicians from Italy. Given more time, she would have been an important patroness of the arts. As Duchess of York she was 'universally beloved'; but when she became Queen she shared James's unpopularity and, on the birth of her son, became a target for all the malice and venom of his adversaries—accused in blasphemous and filthy lampoons of staging a bogus accouchement, foisting a foundling on the nation in order to dispossess her stepdaughters, and even of being his mother by the papal nuncio. When the Protestant wind brought William of Orange to liberate England from the Whore of Babylon, Mary was persuaded against her better judgement to flee to France with her baby—haunted by the fear that he would be taken from her and brought up a heretic by the usurper. As a refugee dependent on the possessive benevolence of Louis XIV, she was virtually his prisoner. When, after the failure of successive counter-offensives, James lost his grip on affairs, she had to take

charge of his puppet government—never knowing whom she could trust, perpetually harassed by internal jealousy and by diminishing financial resources with which to succour the ever-growing stream of Jacobite émigrés. In her widowhood she lost the daughter born to her in exile, of smallpox, and after the fiasco of 1715 her son was expelled from France. Lonely and despairing, she remained at St Germain for his sake, though she longed to escape from a bitter world into the calm of the cloister. She died of cancer in her sixtieth year—a victim of the fatal star of the Stuarts.

Sophia Dorothea of Zelle was a chocolate-box beauty with round red cheeks, a rosebud mouth, dark fuzzy hair, and no intellectual resources. Despite her tears and entreaties and her mother's protests, she was married at sixteen to her coarse, uncouth Hanoverian cousin, afterwards George I, who was contentedly established in sin with a gargantuan mistress whom he kept under the same roof. He was unashamedly unfaithful and intensely disagreeable to his wife, who, after twelve years of intolerable misery, lost her heart to Philip Königsmarck, a libertine soldier of fortune, who probably, though not certainly, seduced her. A rival, lying in wait to ruin her, found out; and a melodrama of rendezvous, stolen gloves, and forged letters culminated in the murder of Königsmarck and the arrest of the Princess. Although no charge of adultery was brought against her, she was divorced and imprisoned for life by her profligate spouse (who retained her property and secured for himself alone the right to remarry) and for thirty-two solitary years she languished in Ahlden Castle, forbidden to see her two children or communicate with the outside world. On her deathbed she summoned George to meet her at the judgement seat of Heaven. Receiving her message seven months later, he died of fright or fury and went to his appointed place. For twelve years Sophia Dorothea was Queen of England, which she never saw.

The cynical rationalism of Caroline of Anspach was the consequence of her odd upbringing. Her stepfather was a bigamist who kept both wives in the same castle—so she naturally regarded monogamy as peculiar. Though nominally Lutherans, her relations negotiated marriages for her which necessitated her conversion to Rome—so she learned that religion need not be taken seriously. She had

no illusions and expected neither affection nor fidelity when at twenty-two she married the pompous little man who later became George II. Despising him, and therefore devoid of jealousy, she accepted his concubines as inevitable; implored one, who gave notice, to remain as a barrier against something worse; and, during his absence, carried on a curious correspondence with him, in which he extolled the physical charms of his latest mistress while his wife assured him that she shared his happiness and invited the lady to stay. By this complaisance she acquired an ascendancy over him and, conscious of her superior intelligence, realistically humoured him in order to rule through him. She delighted in backstairs politics and acted very ably as regent when he was in Hanover. Being addicted to scientific study (though her scholarship was superficial), she was among the first to have her children inoculated for small-pox. There were nine of them, of whom she disliked all but two; and she hated her firstborn from his infancy, often expressing the hope that he were dead. Caroline was ample and Nordic, with straight, untidy yellow hair and pale blue eyes. She distressed her subjects by her ribald, materialistic outlook, her contempt for all forms of religion, and by the licentiousness of her court, where morality was openly mocked, and which she made no attempt to reform. With middle-age the King became increasingly surly and abusive and insulted her publicly, yet she submitted abjectly rather than lose her influence over him. For fifteen years she suffered intense pain from a rupture, but refused to consult her physician and carried out her duties heroically until, at fifty-five, she collapsed and died in agony after a ghastly operation without anæsthetics. The stoicism of her death-bed was in keeping with the scepticism of her life. While she lived, George rarely gave her a word of praise: after her demise he wallowed in mourning.

'The fact is, there were too many of us,' wrote her daughter, of Charlotte of Mecklenburg, whose horizon was bounded by what would be regarded to-day as irresponsible maternity. Born in a dilapidated German court so penurious that it could not produce a fitting meal for an unexpected guest, she was tolerably educated and could tinkle on the harpsichord. Her home, though shabby, was secure and affectionate and endowed her with sense, poise, and serenity. With her immense, almost negroid mouth, mousy

hair, and stumpy figure, she was not decorative ; but, as her portraits show, hers was the kind of ugliness which diminishes with age. When at seventeen she married that earnest and estimable young man, George III, she was quick to appreciate his domestic virtues and anxious to please him. While deploring her looks, everyone found her friendly and agreeable. Later, she was accounted parsimonious and accused of exploiting her retainers. (Her ladies once struck for board wages in lieu of their unpalatable supper.) After some mother-in-law trouble in which the Princess Dowager was worsted, there followed twenty-two years of wedded contentment wherein the Queen staged fifteen happy events. She pampered her sons and was horrid to her daughters ; but none of her children, twelve of whom were living when she celebrated her golden wedding, liked her. 'My father married a disagreeable woman,' observed the future William IV, 'but he has not behaved ill to her,' and, until he lost his reason, George was a devoted husband. In order to stave off a regency Charlotte tried to hide his mental condition from his sons—whose debts and liaisons were largely responsible for it. But when he began to rave, foam at the mouth and chase the ladies-in-waiting round the garden, concealment was impossible. His uxoriousness turned to aversion ; and, so irritating was his wife's presence to his disordered mind, that she could no longer remain in the same house and took her frustrated unmarried daughters to Kew. For eight terrible years the old lady battled determinedly with her eldest son for the control of the Sovereign's person and private property ; then she died of dropsy at the age of seventy-six, stiffly and primly as she had lived.

Typical child of a broken home, that restless exhibitionist, Caroline of Brunswick, craved always for the affection and admiration which nobody felt for her. Her heredity was bad, her education neglected, and she grew up unstable and slovenly in mind and person. Her marriage to the future George IV, which both parties knew to be bigamous, was a fiasco ; and after the birth of their daughter and much mutual recrimination he turned her out of his house. At first Caroline was merely vulgar and theatrical ; but when her husband removed her child, she became vindictive and malicious, casting truth and decency to the winds. She even risked compromising the heiress-

presumptive in order to be avenged on the Regent. In middle-age she grew skittish and anxious to attract attention, whether by under- or over-dressing or by receiving visitors when seated barefoot on the floor. For some years she lived abroad, somewhat disreputably, but on George's accession she returned to demand her right to be crowned, The King retaliated by bringing her to trial for adultery, Although the florid charms of her Italian courier appealed to her adolescent mentality and had undoubtedly captivated her starved affections, she was acquitted—to the delight of the Londoners, who, aware that George had behaved worse than his wife, shouted rude remarks at him whenever he appeared in public. Caroline's last months were ignominious—from her pitiful attempt to force her way into Westminster Abbey, to that last squalid, disorderly journey to Harwich, where her coffin, surmounted by a card boarderown, was dumped aboard a frigate for delivery in Germany.

Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, who introduced the Christmas tree to England, was a homely, dowdy little woman, always subject to headaches, coughs, and rheumatism. As Duchess of Clarence she kept her eccentric middle-aged spouse from going off his head, modified his unquenchable thirst, paid his debts, made his neglected home comfortable, and mothered his ten natural children—relics of his long liaison with Dorothea Jordan. Losing her two little girls in infancy, Adelaide lavished her affection on other people's children, who adored her and always followed her about in swarms. She welcomed her husband's oddly assorted nautical and stage friends with kindness—never retrospective about their Regency pasts, and drawing the line only at notorious evil-livers who seemed anxious to retain their notoriety. As Queen she was less successful. Brought up in a war-weary revolutionary Europe, she dreaded violence and mob-rule and clung firmly to stability, law, and tradition. She mistrusted the extension of the franchise and suffered much resultant unpopularity; yet she did more for the needy than did many of the more vocal reformers. A generous benefactress of all good causes—churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals, and almshouses—she was quick to realise that charity alone was insufficient, and was the first queen to encourage the industries of the realm by wearing only British fabrics, and by ordering quantities of

Spitalfields silk, Honiton lace, Irish poplin, Coventry ribbons, and Worcester gloves as presents for her Continental relatives. In her short widowhood, she gave away most of her income—often without enquiry and to fraudulent and undeserving people. Devoted to the church of her adoption, she set an example of Christian living in circles where it had not been customary for many years, and died mourned by saints and sinners alike.

For forty years Alexandra of Denmark, 'Sea King's daughter from over the sea,' had to defer gracefully to a formidable and domineering mother-in-law with whom she had little in common. Not until she was nearly sixty was she free to act without first submitting her plans for Queen Victoria's approbation. Her simple, carefree childhood, in a romantic countryside where she delighted in the fairy tales of Hans Andersen, contrasted strangely with the life she was required to lead by her pleasure-loving husband, who enjoyed lavish entertainments in the company of wealthy, charming, and sometimes worthless people of whom his mother did not approve. Yet the lovely, radiant Princess—as beautiful on her silver wedding day as she was as a bride of nineteen—moved serenely and unscathed through the scandal and gossip associated in the popular mind with Marlborough House, captivating by her sincerity and gentleness even those who looked askance at her entourage. Tolerant and understanding of her husband's recreations, she nevertheless preferred a less spectacular way of living, and her interests were primarily domestic and charitable. Though her liberality was indiscriminate and often misdirected, she had a flair for the *beau geste* and brought imagination to her good works. Even to-day the purchase of a pink cotton rose recalls to a generation which remembers little else of her, the nostalgic vision of a smiling, blue-eyed lady bowing graciously from a rose-filled landau.

How astounded would Queen Alexandra have been could she have foreseen the daily round of her daughter-in-law, the most remarkable of whose great gifts was her amazing adaptability. Brought up in an era when royal ladies were required only to be faithful wives and loving mothers, to entertain those privileged to move in court circles, to make an occasional ceremonial appearance and to grace a few charitable functions, Queen Mary lived on into

a world where queens are at everybody's beck and call, are given unsolicited advice by the newspapers, are expected day by day to visit institutions for the relief of suffering and the increase of knowledge, where they invite all and sundry to their parties, go shopping in person, and give lifts to embarrassed hitch-hiking soldiers. Nor was it the brave new world which changed Queen Mary, but Queen Mary herself who, by doing things of which her predecessors would not have dreamed, revolutionised the world's conception of her calling.

MARY HOPKIRK

Art. 4.—THE ARCTIC SKY.

A MIDNIGHT ride made history in the spring of the year 1775. Three men figured in it, but the name of only one of them, Paul Revere, is commonly remembered to-day. For most of us in England, at any rate, the well-known poem of Longfellow represents the sum of our knowledge of the famous ride. It comes as a surprise to us to learn that Revere was not a lone horseman. He and one of the other two, William Dawes, rode out of Boston at midnight on April 18-19, 1775, on the mission which was to go far to change the destiny of the North American continent. What they did was to start the war, the shooting war, of American Independence. It was occasion rather than cause, but who can tell how history might have shaped itself but for that first clash of arms which was its sequel? The two riders set out at that hour to warn the men of the Massachusetts countryside that the British had begun to move on Lexington and Concord and to call them to assemble and fight. They did not ride together, as did the three men who 'galloped abreast' from Ghent in Browning's poem. They took separate roads, but came together at Lexington, and were joined later by the third rider, Dr Samuel Prescott, whom they met on the way. It was Prescott who warned Concord. At Concord Bridge and Lexington the first blood of the revolution was shed on the following morning.

The call which these three riders carried to their countrymen seemed to some thoughtful people to have an echo a hundred and sixty-two years later: the call to be armed, ready, alert, alive to a danger that was taking shape. That first midnight ride was followed by another to which history may attach no less significance. Again three riders in the night broke into the American space-time continuum, and they too started a revolution, a delayed action one but a real one, a revolution in strategic thought, a reorientation (after a time) of the whole outlook on American security. At midnight on June 19-20, 1937, a lone aeroplane with three occupants flew south over the 49th Parallel in the west of the continent, headed for San Francisco. They did not reach it. Just above Portland, Oregon, they found that a pump was out of order and turned back, to land at the Vancouver, which is in the extreme south of the State

of Washington. There seemed to be nothing very remarkable about the whole affair—until the men who stepped from the machine announced that they had flown non-stop from Moscow over the North Pole.

It was true. The three Russians had left Moscow on the afternoon of June 17 and had been in the air for more than 63 hours. They had flown more than 6,000 miles. When they landed they still had enough petrol left for many more hours' flying.

In the following month, July 1937, a second Russian aeroplane, also single-engined and again with a crew of three, took off at Moscow on a still more ambitious Polar flight. The airmen's destination was Mexico. They nearly reached it. They had to land because of fog at San Jacinto, north of San Diego, in the extreme south of California. They too had plenty of fuel left for a much longer flight—or, alternatively, bombs could have been carried instead of some of the fuel.

A third Russian attempt to fly to America *via* the Pole was made in August 1937, but the aircraft disappeared in the Arctic regions. The success of the two previous flights, however, gave many people food for thought. It served to emphasise the change in conditions, alike in war and in peace, which man's mastery of the air had produced. From the angle of national defence it caused at first no very definite or widespread apprehension. Russia was not then, as she has since become, the Number One Enemy *in posse* of the United States. It is only in the last few years that the implication of those flights of 1937 has been fully grasped and the bearing of them upon the country's security realised. People have begun to wonder whether what happened then might not happen again, with consequences that would be disastrous and perhaps irremediable.

The new riders in the night would come on mischief bent. If not turned back they might prove to be horsemen of the Apocalypse. They might leave a trail of havoc and desolation behind them. What could happen was foretold by H. G. Wells more than forty years ago. The agents of destruction were in his forecast German airships; giant Russian bombers might cause devastation as terrible. He saw New York a city of flame and destruction. 'As the airships sailed along they smashed up the city as a

child will shatter its cities of brick and card. Below, they left ruins and blazing conflagrations and heaped and scattered dead.' It was 'one of the most cold-blooded slaughters in the world's history.' * That something of the kind *could* conceivably happen, no one who remembers what did actually happen in Hamburg and Dresden, in Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki would deny. Whether it is likely to happen is another matter. Some reasons for thinking that it will not happen just yet are given below.

A few years ago it would have been confidently asserted that Russia would not be capable of mounting a trans-arctic attack of any significance. She had nothing better for the purpose than the Tu-4, a copy of the B-29, now rated only as a medium bomber in the United States; and she had no strategic air force. Writing in 1949, Lieut.-General Walter Bedell Smith said: 'The Soviet Air Force has so far had little experience with long-range aircraft and their employment against strategic objectives.' † He added, however, that: 'If the Soviet Union does not at this time have what we call air power—the ability to carry on a strategic air war—she certainly has the means to create this power, and undoubtedly is straining every nerve to do so.' ‡

The expectation thus expressed may have found fulfilment already. It is practically certain that the Soviet Union began a few years ago to create a strategic air arm and that she now possesses bombers of much greater range and capacity than the Tu-4. The change in the situation was referred to by Senator Symington, who had been Secretary of the Air Force under President Truman, when he told the Senate on Feb. 13, 1954, that Russia might actually be ahead of the United States in intercontinental bombing capacity. He warned the American people not to underestimate Russian productive ability, especially in long-range bombers capable of dropping atom bombs on American cities and returning to their bases. The Deputy Chief of Staff for Development, United States Air Force, has said: 'To-day the Soviets have a fleet of long-range bombers comparable in numbers to our Strategic Air

* H. G. Wells, 'The War in the Air,' 1908, p. 207.

† Walter Bedell Smith, 'My Three Years in Moscow,' 1950, p. 319.

‡ Ibid., p. 320.

Command and comparable in performance to most of the planes of that Command.' *

The new Soviet bombers, according to a report published in the American technical paper 'Aviation Week' in February 1954, are the Tupalev 200 and the Ilyushin 38. The former is known in Russia as the 'America bomber,' and the report said that 400 of the new types were based in the northern provinces of the Soviet Union. The Tu-200 has six turbo-jet engines and a reputed range of 4,800 miles; the Il-38 has four jet engines and a range of 3,000 miles. Both have swept-back wings and should have a high speed. They are not as large and powerful as the American eight-jet B-52, which will replace the B-47. They are probably inferior to the new British 'V' bombers, the Valiant, Vulcan, and Victor, the first of which will be coming into service this year. They are undoubtedly, however, an advance on anything which the Russians have had before.

Suppose the Russians did try to make their Tu-200 live up to its name and sent it to raid America: how would they route it? The shortest way would be *viâ* the Arctic, and it would be the route which, except for a brief period of the year, would give the raiding aircraft the shield of darkness for the greatest part of their flight. From East Germany a Soviet bomber would have to fly more than 4,000 miles to reach the coast of the United States *viâ* the Atlantic. From a base in north-east Siberia it would have to cover only a little more than half that distance to reach Seattle *viâ* the Arctic; to San Francisco the distance would be about 2,750 miles, to Chicago about 3,500, to Los Angeles about 4,000. If the Russians decided to strike at American objectives, they would find plenty in the west of the continent. They could damage the United States' war economy there more seriously than by striking at the east.

Apart from the atomic plant at Hanford, there are a number of very important aircraft factories in that region. The Boeing company has its parent plant at Seattle. At Los Angeles there is a great complex of factories, those of the Lockheed, Douglas, North American, Northrop, and Vultee companies. Of more recent years the policy of the

* Lieut.-Gen. L. C. Craigie, 'Outlook for Air Power,' in 'Ordnance' March-April 1954, p. 742.

United States has been to locate its aircraft factories in less exposed positions. The B-47 Strato-jet bomber is being produced in three huge plants employing altogether more than 50,000 work people. They are the Boeing factory at Wichita in Kansas (almost the dead-centre of the United States), the Lockheed factory at Marietta in Georgia, and the Douglas factory at Tulsa in Oklahoma. These would be much more difficult to wreck from the air.

The United States and Canada have a new frontier to guard. The line that runs between them has remained unguarded for generations, and so may it be to the end of time. Another line has now to be watched, a line to the far north. They are alive to the danger. They have moved their defences northwards. They have established a joint network of radar stations and organised a ground observer system to identify and report on aircraft approaching from that quarter. The Canadians have built their C.F.-100 all-weather fighter for the special purpose of patrolling the northern sky. The United States has in production interceptors which intruding bombers will find it difficult to evade. They need only be flown by their pilots and navigators into the contact area; there an electronic 'brain' takes charge of the machine, tracks down the enemy aircraft, closes with it, discharges its rockets—and puts paid to the account of the raider which it has stalked. The latter may have to be on guard, too, against ground-to-air rockets, but that mode of defence will be less easy to organise in the far north. Interceptors will be the prime defenders, and they will have bases from which they can operate.

The two pivotal regions of North America's air defence are Alaska in the north-west and Greenland in the north-east. Fairbanks in Alaska is the key-point of the one, Thule in north-west Greenland of the other. At Fairbanks there are the Ladd air base and, 26 miles away, the Eielson base. These are flanked on the south by the Elmendorf base at Anchorage, and, further to the south-west, by the great naval station of Dutch Harbour, the 'Gibraltar of Alaska,' which dominates all the north-western waters. In Greenland there are air bases at Narsarsuk and at Sonderstrom Fjord, as well as at Thule. The last is the largest and most important. It has been called the strategic air centre of the northern hemisphere. Frowning

at it, across an inhospitable waste of waters, is the Russian base in Franz Josef Land, 1,500 miles away.

Thule is about 2,750 miles from Moscow and a little under 3,000 from the industrial area in the Urals. That the Russians fear a threat from it is evident from the immense preparations which they have made for air defence in the region abutting on northern Finland. At the end of January, 1954, there appeared in the Norwegian paper 'Morgenpost' an article in which it was stated that there were no fewer than 50 Soviet airfields in the Kandalaksha-Murmansk sector alone. Yet it is difficult to see why the American Air Force should choose this interhemispherical route to strike at Russia. The United States has a large number of air bases in the eastern hemisphere. She could launch her bombers from points much nearer to Russia, points in Britain, Spain, North Africa, Greece, Turkey, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean area.

It is a different matter for Russia. She might strike at the western United States from Anadyr in eastern Siberia, but otherwise she has no foothold in the western hemisphere. She would have launching-points there if she overran and subdued a country which had dependencies in the West Indies—as France has—and forced that country to cede an island to her. As it is, she has no avenue of approach clearly preferable to the Arctic. It does not follow, however, that she will make use of that avenue or that she will attack by air at all.

Russia's trump card is her inexhaustible man-power. The probability is that she will play it. The air arm has always been for her and is still, it seems, an ancillary arm. Her army is her arm of conquest. It is on that that she will rely, in all probability, if she attacks at all. She will set in motion her massive machine of land war on one or more of the three corridors of invasion which, a French authority has pointed out, are open to her. The first is that running across the north European plains to the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The second is through Turkestan and Iran to the Persian Gulf and the oil-fields of Arabia. The third *couloir* is in the Far East and runs down through Indo-China and Burma to Indonesia.* A successful invasion along these possible lines of march would place Russia

* Colonel Dullin in 'Revue de Défense Nationale,' October, 1953, p. 315.

in possession of immense additions to her war potential in the shape of industrial and oil resources. There is, too, a special reason, a prior one, why she should be expected to strike by land in preference to resorting to what would be, for her, a gamble by air.

The Russians' whole philosophy of war centres on the land encounter. That is made abundantly clear in their military literature. The sea and the air are in comparison secondary theatres of operations in their way of thinking. The Russian school of thought is not, in fact, very different from the German. The destruction of the enemy's army would be regarded in both as the aim and culmination of the military art. This end was to be achieved, the Germans thought, by victory in a great battle of annihilation (*Vernichtungsschlacht*); the Russians think rather in terms of a series of battles, a campaign of annihilation (*Vernichtungsfeldzug*).^{*} The net result is very much the same. The German Great General Staff had very little use for Douhet and his theories; the Red Army Staff seem to have none.

It may be that we and the Americans are making now very much the same kind of mistake as our Government did before the last war. That war, we were warned, would begin with terrific attacks in the air, the destruction would be immense, the casualties enormous, the hospitals crammed to overflowing with the injured, the mortuaries with the dead; and all this was to happen in the first few days. It is instructive to read what the Government spokesmen, Viscount Swinton and the Earl of Munster, said in the House of Lords on this subject on Dec. 13, 1937. It is curiously similar to much that has been said in these later days, with fission or fusion bombs substituted for poison gas. To suggest that it might possibly not all happen like that was to write oneself down as utterly 'unrealistic'; it is to do so again to-day. To assert dogmatically now that it will or will not happen would be folly. The farthest one can go is to suggest that the hidden veto within the western alliance may operate (as the French veto on raids into Germany did in the winter of 1939-40) to prevent that kind of war from being started; and if the West does not start it the East will not. Somehow, it seems not to be the

^{*} R. L. Garthoff, 'How Russia Makes War,' 1954, p. 153.

Russians' way at all. If it is they are utterly changed from the Russians of 1941-45 ; which is not to imply that they are not still a poisonous crew.

As regards the particular question dealt with in this article, it may be that the defensive measures adopted by the United States and Canada against air attack from the north are precautions taken *ex abundanti cautelâ* to meet an eventuality that is just possible but, on the whole, not probable. To the writer it would seem to be likely to become an actual reality in our time only in one conceivable situation. Suppose that the Americans, putting into practice their new policy of 'massive retaliation,' were to send their bombers into Russia, to vaporise her cities and to incinerate her citizens : the result might be such a surge of wrath and indignation in Russia that it could be satisfied by nothing less than the treatment of American cities in similar fashion. If only across the Arctic could the Soviet bombers reach their objectives, that is the way which they would take. Short of such provocation, however, it seems doubtful whether they would strike at the American continent at all. Conceivably they might do so by launching aircraft from submarines, and it has indeed been suggested that they are planning to do something of the kind. There is probably no more substance behind such an apprehension than there was behind that which caused a panic on the American east coast in 1898 when a descent by Admiral Cervera's fleet was feared.

It may be that the Arctic has been looked at in distorted perspective and credited with an importance to which it is not entitled as a theatre of operations in an intercontinental war. 'From the point of view of Europe,' a distinguished British military authority has said, 'the Arctic circle has little strategic value. It would only become important if Europe was completely overrun by the Soviets. Even then the New World would seem to have little to fear, especially its east coast. Polar bases seem to be chiefly required in connection with sea communications and submarine warfare in extreme northern latitudes. The western Powers cannot afford to let the U.S.S.R. acquire any advantages in that direction.' * This is a sound appreciation of the strategic position as is to-day.

* Major-Gen. B. T. Wilson, 'The World Strategy of the West,' in the 'Army Quarterly,' July, 1953, p. 177.

The position may be different in twenty or thirty years' time. If transarctic flying were to make in that time strides as great as transatlantic has made in the last generation, and if what is now a rare and perilous adventure were to become almost a daily occurrence, the danger of an aggressor taking the polar route would be more realistic than it is at present. Anything and everything may happen in these days of scientific sensations and technological revolutions. The North Pole might have a flashing beacon on it. The aurora borealis might be just another traffic light, kindly provided by nature for this eventual purpose. When familiarity has bred not contempt but confidence, air legions may come thundering through the Arctic night in a war of hemispheres. Our own generation seems to be unlikely to see them, but the next one may.

The polar frontier of North America will need guarding then. The watch on the Rhine (or the Elbe) will be replaced by a new one that yesterday would have been unimaginable in its fantastic setting. It will have to be set and maintained by resolute guardians if freedom is to survive upon the earth. It may be the last rampart of democracy.

The United States and Canada must be safeguarded: the United States because it is the last hope of the free world and the arsenal of free men, Canada because it too is a bastion of civilisation and also because it may some day become the seat of a displaced Government from the United Kingdom and the centre of the British war effort. Britain itself may become no longer tenable. In the White Paper on Defence which was issued in February 1954, it was suggested that a global war would begin with a period of intense atomic attacks, lasting a relatively short time, and that after them the war would become a 'broken-backed' one in which the belligerents would try to marshal what strength they could to continue the struggle. The hand of Sir Winston Churchill was clearly discernible in that forecast; it was challenged by Mr Attlee in the House of Commons on March 2, 1954. He said that he could not imagine that when the atomic bombs had done their worst we should be in a position to go ahead with an old-fashioned shooting war. Both combatants would have been ruined. 'It would be difficult to live, let alone to fight.'

It would certainly be difficult to live in and fight from

this island after the atomic storm had passed over it. Our ports, as Lord Nathan said in his speech in the House of Lords on March 18, 1954, might have been destroyed. We might be unable to import supplies and materials necessary for the continuance of the war—uranium ore, for instance, from the Belgian Congo to feed the atomic plants at Stellafield, Capenhurst, and Springfields; or these and other vital plants might have been wiped out of existence. Only by shifting our war base to the other side of the Atlantic and substituting the oceanic for the narrow moat could we hope to rebuild and maintain the armed strength needed to continue the struggle. What would be involved would be a governmental and military transference like that which Norway carried out in 1940 and an industrial one comparable to that which the Russians undertook in 1941, when they evacuated a number of vital factories to sites beyond the Urals. It would be an abandonment of the people of this island to their fate, but only for a time; and the abandonment would be far less blameworthy than the initial iniquity of putting them in the front of the battle—for that was what was done when a policy of defence and weapon-priority was adopted which made it a practical certainty that hundreds of thousands of helpless people would be massacred if war came and relied (too optimistically, the event may prove) on that terrifying prospect to prevent it from coming at all. Verily history has made a strange step forward since the time of Henri Dunant and his humanitarian efforts of a hundred years ago.

J. M. SPAIGHT

Art. 5.—PROSPECT OF FAMINE.

THE VIRTUAL end of rationing in this country, understood by so many as a return to the good old days, has established again the tradition of the industrial age of cheap food for the towns, with all the resources of the world to draw upon. The short-term prospect seems bright and there are signs of impatience with the need to maintain, indeed increase, the production of our own farmlands. Government schemes to encourage good farming and to guarantee prices have already been described as 'feather-bedding' by people who ought to have known better. While it is likely that farmers in the richer areas were doing very well, those on the marginal lands were still in need of help, technical and financial. And it is in the marginal lands of this country that the greatest expansion in production is immediately possible and most desirable. It is upon them, in the main, that governmental assistance should be concentrated.

In spite of derationing and the corresponding export drive which, for the time being, is making it possible, the long-term prospect—indeed, not so long—is much less pleasant. There are a number of world factors which are tending to make this method of earning our living in Britain less certain, or at least less sufficient. The needs caused by post-war shortages of manufactured goods in the world will tend to be satisfied in the near future; other countries are developing their own manufacturing potential at great speed, and what were for so long primary-products countries exporting vast surpluses of food and raw material to us here are rapidly developing in such a way as to need these surpluses for themselves, and at the same time to manufacture their own necessary articles of living. The Argentine is an obvious example of this trend, and many countries which once exported food now export none, and even have to import themselves. With this are associated phenomenal rises in world population and, at the same time, progressive reductions in arable and grazing areas, due to over-exploitation in the interests often of exports, during the last century or so. The desert is gaining rapidly over the productive lands, the dustbowls of once rich prairies increase their range, while the rape of the forests adds to the prodigal waste of the world's natural

resources. It is certain that the honeymoon is over and we shall find, as Sir Winston Churchill in one of his flashes of vision once said, that the world does not, as we have so long thought, owe us a living—at least, a living of such high standards as we have been conditioned to expect. He added: 'We are in this country standing on a trap-door.' The solution of the problem of world population and food supply is as urgent to humanity as that of the hydrogen bomb. Indeed, they may be problems which are politically closely related. It is well, therefore, first to consider what informed and thoughtful people have said about this dilemma in which the people of Britain, and indeed mankind all over the world, are finding themselves.

Perhaps the most arresting discussion is 'Prophecy of Famine,'* a book in which the late H. J. Massingham and Edward Hyams ask the question, 'When shall we starve, we in Britain?' and answer it quite bluntly, 'Quite soon.' They argue with much conviction, and from obviously a deep study of world facts and trends, that the ingenuity of politicians (they do not call them statesmen) may put off the inevitable day of reckoning in this country for perhaps fifteen years. But, say many, the scientists will save us. The authors of this book answer that they could if our opinions, beliefs, and determination will allow the scientists to direct and advise a population working together with a new unanimity for their very existence. Where is the political party that will make itself unpopular in preaching these hard truths?

The writers of this remarkable book—as startling in its conclusions about our future as any pronouncement about atomic energy—go on to analyse and correlate the facts present in to-day's situation. Much of this is familiar to many, but the authors have tried to make the picture complete. Half the people of Britain live on the food and raw material surpluses produced in other countries. We with our 50 million people, who need two acres to feed one person *at present levels of farming*, have only 50 million acres available, apart from about 12 million acres of marginal land. There is the theory that we can continue to buy the food and other raw materials we need by the export of our brains in the form of technology, that is, of

* Thames and Hudson.

machines and articles calling for highly skilled design and labour or, as the Americans say, the 'know-how.' True, this is one of the factors which staves off the evil day. It cannot be a long-term solution because technology and manufacturing skill are spreading throughout the 'backward' countries of the world with amazing rapidity, while at the same time, largely through the spread and application of another form of science—that of medicine—world population is expanding in a startling manner, and all this in the presence of reducing food-production areas due to over-grazing, soil erosion, and exhaustion in most of the countries once producing surpluses. Technology, in addition, attracts increasingly millions into the great cities. It seems as if the pioneer 'out back' is becoming rarer. Even in a primary-product country like Australia four-fifths of its people live in the towns.

We cannot, therefore, look with any confidence towards the continuation, indefinitely, of cheap foreign supplies of food. Even now, if food subsidies were taken off we should see how, relatively, much more than in the heyday of the Victorians food costs us. These subsidies represent the contribution mainly of the towns towards the cost of providing food within the reach of all, and are, in our present circumstances, inevitable. Added to the physical factors there are the new techniques for the spread of opinions and attitudes represented by the cinema and the radio, so that appeals to racial and other interests and prejudices are now easily made on a massive scale. Communism, which promises fair shares for all, makes its appeal in world conditions which favour its impact, and this in one sense is the political expression of world shortages, especially of food. In the political field also the two colossi (each self-sufficient) the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., are thereby able to hold on to bodies of opinion hostile to each other without lowering their own standards of living, leaving Britain as one of the powers suspended between them and at present dependent upon a system of continuing world trade conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. The tragedy is that the dollar countries really want little from us except wool, tin, and rubber, which, anyway, are not produced for export within this island, and a livelihood for us dependent upon 'earning dollars' is precarious in the extreme. Even with wool and rubber, science is showing

how synthetic materials as substitutes for them can be made in bulk.

We need every year, say Massingham and Hyams, 15,444 (thousand) tons of essential foods in Britain to live reasonably well. We produce 7,880 (thousand) tons, leaving a deficit of 7,564 (thousand) tons. We must somehow make that up, first in the face of the inevitable decline of international trade and, secondly, in view of the danger of starvation in war, only narrowly averted during the last two struggles—and almost certain in the next, if it comes. How can this balance be made up? First, there is the matter of acreage. Dr Dudley Stamp's Land Utilisation Survey shows a deficit in Britain of about 14 million acres, i.e. of 40 per cent. At the same time the deficit is being increased rapidly by widespread housing schemes, which are, of necessity, at present situated in the areas of the richer land. Yet in our future 'peasant economy' it is likely that many of these houses, in addition to taking up highly productive land, will later on be in the wrong places. Extractive industries like quarries and lime pits, opencast mining, deep mining with its vast tips of sterile shale, industrial wastes of all kinds, take their toll. If one would see what uncontrolled industry can do to a once rich and heavily wooded countryside, the train journey from Neath to Swansea will show a devastation unmatched anywhere.

Badly conceived afforestation can take up much land of marginal character which will be required in our future agricultural developments, though well-sited shelter belts and forests can add to the production of both crops and beasts. Hydro-electric schemes may, on balance, help a reviving rural economy, but the prodigal use of water in our towns—about 20–30 gallons per head per day—is reducing the water supply to subsoils everywhere and lowering the water table. This water is largely used to carry away from the land surface which needs it the rich organic wastes of our sewage and sanitary systems. Only in few instances is there considerable effort made to return this as humus to the land. It is a veritable rake's progress. The labour force on the land is being rapidly reduced and we have become, as Christopher Turner says in his 'Yeoman Calling,'* 'the least land-minded of all peoples.'

* Chambers, 1939.

Between 1871 and 1931 the number of farm workers dropped from 676,000 to 383,000. Mechanisation has gone a long way to compensate for this, but it has, on the other hand, increased our national insensibility to the need for a tremendous effort to repopulate the countryside with proud 'peasant-yeoman' inhabitants. Power machinery has on some farms reduced workers in the proportion of from 40 to 4 and increased correspondingly the settlers in the towns.

The nineteenth-century picnic is over. The urgent need *now* is to increase by the extent of all our marginal lands the acreage under cultivation, and to farm all our acres in the most efficient way. 'High farming' of wide, rich areas by mechanical means to produce cash crops is not necessarily the best method of the resettling on the land of industrial workers put out of employment by changing world conditions. The highest rates of cropping, combined with a conservation of the richness of the land, come through peasant 'ownership' of smallish farms. If we are to survive, there must be a new industrial revolution in reverse, with the production of food as our main target. But more of this later. Now let us see what other thinkers have said or written about this crisis which faces a Britain—and indeed a world—which, in the main, is supremely unaware of its seriousness.

Paul Derrick in his article 'The Law and the Land' in the July 1953 'Quarterly Review,' discussing the relation of conditions of land-tenure to home food production, said that we tend to regard our home-food production problem as a war measure, or at least concerned with the threat of war. He showed that it is far more than that. Philip Noel-Baker, opening on March 24, 1954, the Commons debate on World Mutual Aid, said that one in two of the people of the world went short of food and that 1,200 million of our fellow-men are hungry, disease-ridden, ill-clothed, and ill-housed from the cradle to the grave. Our vision of unrationed plenty in Britain cannot live long in conditions such as these. The high standards which we and others demand are achieved, in one sense, at the expense of people like this. In their pamphlet on 'Waging Peace' Sir Richard Acland, Mr Fenner Brockway, and Mr Leslie Hale show how the most important present-day event is the social revolution among two-thirds of the

human race who live in poverty and subjection, but are learning that this is not inevitable. The answer to the obvious appeal of Communism to such people, they argue, is that the problem of world poverty be vigorously attacked in co-operation with the Western democracies, who can supply the drive, the technical guidance, and the capital for such work. The great 'colonial' undertakings—rubber, iron, tin, sugar, gold, and so on—must plough back much more of their profits for the social betterment of the local inhabitants than they have done in the past. Some of the great oil concerns have appreciated the importance of such a policy, more perhaps through the astuteness of the local rulers than through any altruism on their part.

On world trade, Scrutator in the 'Sunday Times' of January 3, 1954, said that the volume of our overseas markets was facing a decline and that an American 'recession' is clearly on the way. This would kill much of our dollar trade and reduce—or even stop—expenditure by the U.S.A. on its technical and other aids hitherto so generously afforded by them to the Western world and its associates. Scrutator discusses the effects of continuous demands for higher wages, though we might add that in this vicious upward spiral the 'captains of industry' are often equally culpable. Too many people doing too little work—by hand and brain—expect a standard of living which we shall soon, obviously, be unable to afford unless other action is taken. The demands of both parties in our production plans can price us out of world markets very quickly. One commentator in the daily press remarked that the rise of Western Germany as an industrial power was capturing many world markets *at our expense*. The italics are mine, but the words show clearly the traditional British attitude to world trade as something which is ours by right. But the world does *not* owe us a living: we must get that fact into our thick heads.

Josué de Castro in his 'Geography of Hunger,'* in spite of much that is tendentious in the book, argues convincingly for a change from commercialism and colonialism, with the vicious land tenure and monoculture which they foster, to co-operation by all to attain balanced food-

* Gollancz.

economies. This world aspect of the food problem* is the reverse of the medal and brings into greater relief the need for us in this country to study, as a matter of great urgency, the making of its future food supplies to be not so heavily dependent upon surpluses exported from areas of monoculture and cash crops produced by an under-nourished native population. It means that we must very soon pull up our socks and do our own work of food production.

In an address late in 1953 to members of the Farmers' Club the Duke of Northumberland, one of the most enlightened landlords and farmers in Britain, discussed in detail the dwindling land resources of this country and of the world in relation to population. His estimates of land available in this country for food production were lower than those of Massingham and Hyams. He showed how, in the next twenty years, housing, industrial development, roads, mining, and War Department needs would swallow up another million acres of our land. At the same time, world population is increasing, mainly in the areas which used to export food to us, by 20 millions a year. The moral is obvious. The Duke argued for a wiser use of land by the Forestry Commission, the planting of shelter belts so that afforestation can aid agriculture, and the saving—indeed, the improvement—of the grasslands of the downs, the wolds, the moors, and the mountains for grazing by a greatly increased cattle and sheep population. The right co-ordination of needs in view of our limited resources in land was urgently necessary. He said that at any time in the immediate or more distant future the British people may suffer a fearful and perhaps fatal disaster through the inability to feed themselves or to obtain the raw materials on which their food largely depends. He argued for more comprehensive schemes to populate the Dominions and Colonies with men who would become farmers, not townsmen. That is a wise policy, but it can never, in time, ease our problem here before the food situation becomes desperate. What chance, therefore, is there of Britain organising itself to feed itself? In this quest Massingham and Hyams have much to say. They think it could be done, granted certain first principles.

* 'The War on World Poverty' by Harold Wilson (Gollancz) gives the full statistics.

There must be, they argue, a mass plan to resettle vast numbers from the towns on the land—the industrial revolution in reverse. Training schemes will be required and it is likely that the direction of at least young labour to the land will be necessary *if we are to survive*. Mr John Strachey, M.P., in saying something like this about the direction of labour, drew upon his head the imprecations of many public commentators, who will be as hungry as anyone else when the pinch comes. Massingham and Hyams argue for the necessity of vast schemes to use labour and machinery in reclaiming, draining, and fencing marsh and marginal lands and preparing them for intensive cultivation. Such life-saving armies should also be employed in cleaning, clearing, and preparing for cultivation land spoiled by factories and mines now derelict, and using the vast volume of rich organic wastes spewed out by the towns to restore the fertility and to increase the humus content of all our soils. We can ourselves make the machinery required for this vast job. What is now urgently wanted is a national will to do it. It is gratifying to learn that the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries is sponsoring already some pilot schemes of this nature from which we can learn much, if we will, for 'Operation Starvation' which is bound to come. The Ministry, for example, is planning to drain and rehabilitate the now almost derelict alluvial coastal plain between the south-eastern edge of the uplands of the South Wales Coalfield and the Bristol Channel.* This area can be seen by the railway traveller as his train moves from Severn Tunnel Junction to Newport. It continues in Glamorganshire into the alluvial deposits of the Roath Marshes. This may become a new and rich 'Fenland of the West.'

Similar reclamation and improvement schemes, suited to the different conditions, must be applied to other types of marginal lands, chiefly in the mountainous areas. The level of cultivation must ascend the mountain slopes as high as it did in the eighteenth century—indeed, beyond. The fields since captured by the gorse, the heather, and the bracken must be reoccupied and cultivated by the hill farmer, and the broken-down walls and fences restored. The War Agricultural Committees did much to aid this

* According to a statement in the Press.

trend. The need to consolidate—indeed, extend—their work is still as urgent as it was during the war years, if we but read aright the signs of the times. It would be no exaggeration to say that the work of reclamation and the study of good methods of farming by such great agriculturists in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as Coke of Norfolk made the difference between victory and defeat in the two world wars. But the severest test of all to our food economy is still to come. We must become a nation of Cokes, Townshends, and Tulls.

Along with the reclamation of the now waste and marginal lands and the continuous improvement of all our soils, should come—indeed, must come—the settlement of numerous 'peasant-proprietors' on smallish farms which can be worked and, as it were, owned by families with an interest in their success as a long-term tenancy. With so many of the men and women in the Forces and in industry during the last world war we were capable of producing 75 per cent. of our essential foods, even without a widespread basis of intensive methods of cultivation. If we all pulled together and co-operated in radical schemes for such intensive resettlement of the land we could, with real understanding and conviction in all concerned, produce this 100 per cent. of our requirements. 'High farming' on an extensive scale will not do this everywhere. The large 'company' monoculture farm is not the answer, certainly not in the marginal and mountainous areas. A sense of personal ownership (of a kind) or family farming is the best way.

The example of Denmark is striking in this respect. A country, as a whole, with poor soil has become in a few generations one of the few food-exporting countries in Europe. Cultivators in the proportion of 70 to each 1,000 acres became by 1938 represented in 334 farms for each 1,000 acres, with corresponding vast increases in productivity. The Danes, in the best sense of education, tradition, and training, became a nation of peasants with a personal interest in their farms. Their Folk High Schools fit characteristically into the cultural pattern and show how the 'peasant' need not be the despised, ignorant beast of burden for the town-dwellers, but a man among men—indeed, the foundation-stone of any civilisation. The example of the Vale of Evesham is quoted, where

80 per cent. of the holdings, each farmed by a family, are under 15 acres in area. In this re-establishment of a new yeoman-peasant class in Britain there must obviously be grant-aided schemes of training in centres placed suitably in the characteristic agricultural areas. The schools, and especially the secondary schools, must teach rural economy as a compulsory subject. Here is where our public schools can give a lead to the whole country. So often does one find in interviews that candidates from schools in rural areas know little or nothing of agricultural things. Their education has been mainly directed towards finding black-coated employment in the towns. This tendency must be drastically reversed if Britain is to live.

Central depots for the loaning of the appropriate agricultural machinery to suit the local cultivation methods and conditions will have to be extended and established. The design of handier and smaller-powered machines to suit family or small-holding farming is an urgent necessity. Collecting and distributing depots for produce will need extension on the lines of the milk and egg marketing schemes. Canneries and preservatories for surpluses of all kinds will be essential to prevent gluts and to spread the consumption of seasonal crops over the whole year.

Nation-wide plans for the return of all organic wastes to replenish the humus in our rapidly deteriorating soils must come, and that soon. Artificial fertilisers, even if we can afford them, are only a partial answer. The example of places like Maidenhead and Leatherhead, where sewage and refuse wastes are salvaged and converted into easily handled fertilisers, is one which all our towns, with governmental encouragement, must emulate. Even roadside strips, the sides of railway embankments and cuttings, and all slopes—at least, those facing east, south and west—should, by suitable terracing and soil conservation, be cultivated for appropriate crops. Cash cropping will need careful control. There are hill-farms in the South Wales Coalfield that for many years sold so much of their hay crops to feed pit ponies that the farmland was gravely impoverished. The greater mechanisation of the mines and the national effort to improve agriculture in the two world wars are beginning to restore the balance on these farms. Even cow urine, rich in fertilising materials, ought all to be conserved and used on the land. As Ivor Brown

says in his 'Summer in Scotland'* 'A well-sized city is one that rides easily on the countryside, assisting, not sapping, the villages.' This means us becoming less city-minded and the decline in size, thank heaven, of our monstrous towns.

There are two more essentials to the plan we must make to convert at least enough of Britain into a 'peasant-proprietor' country with sufficiently high rates of agricultural production. Paul Derrick showed the importance of conditions of land tenure in the article referred to above. The first essential is security and cheapness of tenure. The family cultivating the holding, so long as it does this well, should have the security of tenure and the certainty—with good husbandry—of the farm being handed on from father to son. The second essential is the guaranteed market with far less cost upon the product through over-centralised marketing and too many middlemen. Our shopkeepers have become too much conditioned to deal with short supplies at high prices. They often do not wish to handle plentiful supplies at low prices. That must somehow be changed. Perhaps this can come from wise extensions of the marketing boards idea. Be that as it may, what we must attain is a 100 per cent. production of our food and its distribution, *without any waste* and at fair prices.

Will it pay? That is likely to be the first question the cynics will ask. The need to provide ourselves with the food we need cannot be merely a matter of cost—whether in money counters or effort. It must be done or we shall die. It is as simple as that. Indeed, it is necessary immediately to place farmers and fishermen in the same category as our fighting services—as an insurance against hunger, just as our servicemen are an insurance against war. What about land ownership? That will probably prove the knottiest problem of all. Yet it is clear that there has never been absolute ownership of land in Britain. All is held in trust to the Crown. Hyams thinks the transformation can best be made by the nationalisation of the land, but Massingham, believing more in the personal and family urge, thought there was some other way. That is for our politicians to solve and, in its solution, to grow to the stature of statesmen.

The elemental necessity for such an intensive resettlement

* Collins, 1952.

ment is there for all who are not blinded by self-interest or prejudice to see. The danger is that a general realisation of the need will come too late to make the change effective. We should begin now, for the time is short. We must plan feverishly and act, or we perish, a great many of us, within foreseeable time.

Who will arouse the country that has become the least land-conscious in the world to its urgent need? Not the Labour Party, perhaps, for they are not likely to risk the votes of townsmen by preaching this unpopular doctrine of population dispersal, directed labour and hard spade work on the soil. Yet before long the clamour for money-wage increases, for dividends and profits, will become meaningless in the face of partial famine. It is not likely, either, to be the Conservative Party, which is so much tied up with land ownership and all it means. Will it be a revived Liberal Party, with no seats to lose, which will become the crusaders of a self-sufficient policy, in direct contrast to their traditional views of world free trade? Or will a new party appear or a great advocate arise to be the messiah of these fundamental changes which we must make? What is certain is that a far higher proportion of our people must return to hard work on the land, and for this reason be suitably honoured and rewarded as the most important members of our community.

We must become educated to a way of life with new and essential values. We must make places like Dartmoor fertile. We must, as Lord Lovat is doing in Scotland, bring the deer forests and braes back into large-scale cattle production. Our sheep, pig, and poultry population must rise drastically in harmony with the growing of our own feeding-stuffs and the use of wastes in intensive farming. We must use the scientific knowledge we have of how to enrich our grasslands and our leys, and use also the new techniques of soil improvement. The flight from the marginal lands must be stopped and strenuous efforts made to reverse the flow. Campbell K. Finlay, writing in 'Country Fair' for May 1954, refers to the progressive depopulation of the Scottish Western Isles, and yet is able to describe how he himself reclaimed a derelict island farm, fenced it, drained it, limed and harrowed basic slag into it, until now, after a few years, it is self-supporting. These things can be done if the will to do them is there. We

must plan in time or perish. We must link up with agricultural Eire in this plan.

It is not too late for our bread-and-circuses civilisation to halt its headlong rush towards starvation. We need to settle three million families on small, 'family' farms. We must re-orientate our educational system to the coming needs. With world food acreage shrinking by 20 millions a year and world population (now more conscious than ever of its powers and needs) increasing by 20 millions annually, the problem is one of simple arithmetic. Two and two will always make four.

It may be that radio, which can bring the entertainment we have all been conditioned to demand right into the home, is a factor of enormous importance in this return in Britain of three million families to the land. It can, furthermore, in the right hands instruct and educate. This is a fascinating thought. Here is a medium to produce a new social consciousness in a people long divorced from the land that gave them sustenance. May this medium of public instruction never fall into the hands, therefore, of narrow and vested interests. Sound-radio and television may yet prove a means to national salvation.

FREDERIC EVANS

Art. 6.—THE PROSPECTS OF THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS.

THE independent school is entering a vital ten or fifteen years of its existence. Yet the idea of its future being threatened is by no means new ; in 1869, when Thring of Uppingham gathered together his fellow-headmasters to form what is now the Headmasters' Conference, it was with the intention of safeguarding their schools from threatened Government interference. And when the 1902 Education Bill became law, providing secondary education powers for local authorities, many shook their heads and foretold the end of our public schools. The threats to-day, however, are by no means imaginary, and are in no way reduced by precedents. The political threat is real and the economic threat is plain for all to see, and we would be false to ourselves not to examine these threats and the schools as they exist to-day.

The past half-century, quite contrary to the Edwardian pessimists, has seen a remarkable expansion of our independent schools. The public schools have expanded and flourished, and new public schools such as Stowe, Canford, and Gordonstoun have been founded ; the preparatory school also has in this time taken its own firm place as a training-ground for the public schools. For the past forty years a preparatory schoolboy has had to pass an entrance examination into his public school, and the standards which he has found at his public school have been steadily improving. Both preparatory and public schools have always sought to give a broad education, as opposed to a mass of solely book-learning ; and yet, even to-day, the public schools carry off almost a half of Oxford and Cambridge scholarships, though the numbers they educate are only a fraction of those in maintained grammar schools. No other institutions can rival them and no specially planned schools can really imitate them. The schools truly educate ; they teach boys to take orders as well as give them ; and within them no one has any position which he has not earned for himself.

The preparatory and public schools, however, are not the only independent schools ; there are others which are good, both primary and secondary schools ; and there are some, perhaps some 10 per cent., which are decidedly poor

in quality. But the latter are not relevant to this discussion because none would mourn their passing, and there is already, in Part III of the 1944 Education Act, adequate power to eradicate them as soon as it can be operated. The sooner that power is given, to enforce registration, the sooner may these stains upon the reputation of the independent schools be removed.

In step with the expansion of the schools has grown the influence of the opposition to them, culminating to-day in a severe threat to their future existence. But in no sense is the opposition on educational grounds. It is opposition brought forward on political grounds and rooted in a long-standing resentment that money can purchase better education. And in the nature of this opposition lies one of the strengths of our defence; were we defending the schools against educational attacks we might find division in our ranks, but we are not; we are defending them against a political motive, and in this defence we are unanimous.

The Labour Party's argument is simple: 'We aim to end privilege in education.' They hold that it is contrary to public interest to allow education to be a vendible commodity. The idea is an old one in Socialist doctrine, but for many years it was simply an intellectual's dream, until the growth and extension of the national education system after 1870 made it more and more a possibility. Every Education Act and every additional Socialist Member of Parliament brought it nearer to reality. Then the war came, and the Education Act of 1944 was perforce a coalition measure, with the Fleming Committee as further concession to the resentment of barriers between the State and the independent schools. By these two documents Socialist opinion was to some extent mollified, but in the post-war years the practical working of the two schemes has failed to live up to their hopes, and as soon as they laid down the burdens of office the Labour Party began coming forward with fresh and far-reaching ideas for still more educational reform. In the summer of 1953 their educational reform proposals were given a prominent place in the year's statement of Party policy; this included the comprehensive school advocacy and a taking over of the best public schools as high schools for later secondary education. On more than one occasion since the publica-

tion we have been promised that education and the independent schools will be brought out as one of the major issues. The Labour Party since the war has shown us that it is capable of being returned with a Parliamentary majority. Consequently, we must accept their threats as genuine risks and settle now in our own minds what it is that we wish to defend and how we wish to defend it.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

It is not easy to define the precise steps which the Labour Party in power would take to end the independent schools. In their policy statement published in the summer of 1953, the proposal was advanced to take over the best of the public schools as high schools for general use in the later stages of secondary education. Presumably the remaining public schools would be closed or their buildings put to some nondescript educational use. At the Party conference, however, the educational section produced much dissatisfaction and was withdrawn and later rewritten. In the revised version these proposals were missing; but from conference speeches there are no grounds for believing that any favourable change of heart took place. In November 1953 I met and discussed fully and frankly their independent school intentions with one of the Opposition front bench. His comments were enlightening, and later reflection, filling between the lines, has proved still more so.

I was assured that it would in practice be impossible for some ten years for any Labour government to take far-reaching action to end the present system of independent schools. Before that time there would be more than enough to occupy a government in the present field of State education, without any further additions. But I was left in no doubt that it is the ultimate aim of every shade of opinion in the Party to integrate the independent schools with the national educational system, and that even if it were ten years before that could happen, all those years they would be moving gradually towards their goal.

It was very clear that in spite of the policy statement, the fate of the independent schools has not really moved beyond being agreed in principle. It was, furthermore,

apparent that there was a reason for the vagueness of the policy statement, since there are, for example, several differing opinions in the Party with regard to the public schools. Some advocate their early and total abolition and others in varying degrees wish to preserve them; some desiring this at all costs. I heard the responsible opinion voiced that if the local authorities had used their powers to pay the fees of boys at public schools to a greater extent, there would not now be any political threat to the schools. I was also assured—as a further sign of their caution—that whatever was said to-day, the ultimate fate of the schools would depend on the state of public opinion at that time.

Reflecting deeply since that meeting, I have become more confident that a final demise of our schools can be avoided, if only the time that is given us can be usefully employed. Reflection has more than ever shown that the economic threat is a far more dangerous opponent than the Labour Party, who in many ways can be pictured as vultures hovering above, waiting for the natural death of their victim. We must now turn to that aspect of our problem.

THE SCHOOL AND ECONOMICS

At the moment it may seem ludicrous to talk of the economic threat to the schools, at a time when all our schools are as full as they have ever been, in spite of the cry that the middle and upper classes have no money. The answer to this apparent paradox is that most parents are paying for their children's boarding-school education out of capital. So long as enough parents have the wish and enough capital available, there need be no crisis; but capital, decimated by death duties, cannot last for ever when being consumed by education and other needs. The practice of employing capital first began to reach recognisable proportions in the late 1930's; and has, with the growth of taxation, increased apace since then. Therefore, in the next five or ten years we shall be entering a generation of parents of public-school children who were themselves partly educated on capital, and we are thus self-evidently nearing the end of the present boom in the schools. Admittedly, day-school fees are not materially affected by this argument, but the day school is a choice

faute de mieux for most people. A parent is lucky indeed to have a first-class day public school nearby.

The average fee at a good boarding preparatory school is 225*l.* a year, including compulsory extras, such as laundry. At a boarding public school, the fees range between 270*l.* and 360*l.* a year, plus extras. There are 100,000 pupils at boarding independent schools recognised as efficient, and a moment's thought must show that it is not possible for more than a tenth of these children to be so educated out of net income, although many parents take advantage of a number of endowment insurance schemes on the market and a limited number are able to win scholarships—to choir schools, for example, for the preparatory years, and later, entrance scholarships to their public schools. But even insurance schemes can only help to a limited extent, and it is a small minority which is able to benefit by scholarships.

Must school fees be as high as they are? It is the inevitable question. Unfortunately the problems and the costs of running a school are a closed book to most people, even to most parents. The L.C.C. runs a boarding-school on public-school lines; the cost of running it is in the region of 500*l.* a year per pupil. One Borstal institution for girls, of which I know, costs 330*l.* a year per girl to run. A cursory comparison of these figures with the fees I have already mentioned must show that there is little room for reduction of fees in independent schools. Indeed, for the utmost prudence, they really ought to be higher. Few parents realise the anxious degree to which the schools keep their fees down, forgoing the opportunity of these boom years to build prudent reserves for the lean years, and to invest in further buildings and improvements.

By necessity, the schools are thus mortgaging the prospects of future parents for the sake of their present patrons; and this is a further sign of the fundamental instability of their economic position. Space prevents a thorough examination of school budgets, but some outline of the problems must be given. The public school, of which I am an old boy, last year issued an appeal for a 150,000*l.* endowment fund; in the appeal it was stated that the school, with 380 boarders, and fees at about 280*l.* a year, was costing 100,000*l.* to run. So long as the school remains full, it can make ends meet on its present income

from fees and its endowments—which only bring in now an income of some 800*l.* a year. If the numbers in the school were to drop to the level of the 1930's, the school would no longer be able to make ends meet, and without the cushion of the endowment fund would have to apply for aid to the local authority and sacrifice its independence. The maintenance of its extensive property is an overhead for such a school which does not reduce because numbers fall, and though it can make ends meet, it cannot even to-day put aside reserves.

As soon as we turn to the private independent school, represented principally by the preparatory school, we find even deeper complications. In these, three problems are always facing their principals. First, is the fact that they are private schools, property to be bought and sold; secondly, and particularly in the years ahead, they have to tread carefully because, being small and not world-famous, they are more vulnerable to criticisms from educational authorities and the world at large than the public schools; and thirdly, they are always handicapped by the unsound convention that preparatory school fees should always be only some two-thirds of public-school fees—a handicap which may prove fatal.

It has always been the general practice for preparatory schools to be owned by their headmaster or headmistress, who has either bought the school or founded it. On their death or retirement, the school is sold to a successor. For the past fifty or sixty years this has worked very well, but in recent years, with personal capital on a smaller scale and school prices up, anxiety has grown about finding the right type of buyer with the money in his pocket. Partnerships in schools have increased, but this has not been to the advantage of the schools, for partnerships are rarely a happy solution in this field. No one buys a preparatory school hoping to make his fortune, but many headmasters sink every penny of available capital in their schools, and ought in equity to be able to redeem some capital when the time comes for them to retire.

The preparatory schools are painfully aware of this situation, and for some years they have been considering it. In 1953 they established among themselves a charitable trust to buy suitable schools from retiring principals, and run them thereafter as trust schools under salaried head-

masters. The solution appears to be the only feasible one. It is a means of giving a retiring headmaster a fair price ; and it is a means of offering prospects to a larger number of good but poor men of headmasterships. It should be remarked that a fair price for a good boarding-school may be anything up to 60,000*l*.

The other two aspects, their vulnerability and their lower fees, are closely related to each other, particularly in the future, when one essential above all others is going to be improvement. If independent schools are to survive, they must strive continually to improve their quality, their premises, their grounds, their school equipment, and their all-round education. This is a necessary part of the campaign to save the schools, and it is so particularly with the preparatory and the smaller independent schools, whom inspectors and others are so much more ready to criticise. Think what we may of the criticisms or of the critics, we must face the fact that it is those critics who will continue or close the schools ; and therefore it is only politic that the schools should make every effort to meet them. Headmasters and governors of schools may feel that they are giving an absolutely first-rate education, and they probably are ; but in the years ahead they should never cease to examine themselves and see if any further improvements can be made.

But what scope is there for improvement within the preparatory-school budget with fees of some 225*l*. a year ? A boarding-school with these fees and 60 boys can make a substantial profit, even as much as 3,000*l*. a year. But to make that profit the school must be full and every one of the parents must pay the full fees. This immediately puts the school in the hypothetical category. I do not suppose there is a single preparatory school in the country where every parent pays—I repeat, pays—the full fees. In practice, the school may clear about 2,000*l*., but again prudence demands reserves, and a school of this nature must in boom years build up a reserve of at least 10,000*l*. against the poorer days. An annual instalment towards this will absorb most of the 2,000*l*. profit. And there are few preparatory schools which, to bring them up to their critics' satisfaction, do not need to spend some thousands of pounds on their premises or their equipment in the years to come. So even with such a profit, such a school is already

running on a shoestring before we come to the vexed question of staff salaries.

There is a remarkably widespread idea that the Burnham Scale applies to independent schools as a matter of course ; and this must be rebutted. The Burnham Scale is a purely local authority agreement, which is utterly unsuitable in full form for application to fee-paying schools. Regular salary increments in schools where the money can only come from fees can in the long run work against the interests of the staff concerned ; for the time comes when they are in their prime when they are too expensive to employ. Most of the jobs in preparatory schools are resident, and a graduate resident master normally receives a salary of about 350*l.* a year, plus board and lodging for eight months a year. As a single young man, especially if he has a home for the holidays, he is on a good wicket ; but marriage can plunge him into immediate hardship. Few schools can afford a non-resident salary adequate to compensate for the loss of the previous emoluments, and even at inadequate salaries, the jobs open to married masters are only a fraction of those for the single man. There are no compulsory pensions schemes, and without capital there are at present only negligible prospects, for salaried headmasterships are few ; and within any preparatory school there is no real responsibility except on the shoulders of the headmaster, for the schools are too small. It is, bluntly, a dead end. Is it, therefore, surprising that the schools are not always as well staffed as they might be ?

There are, therefore, two major considerations. Even the most successful school by the time it has made prudent provision for reserves finds it very difficult to lay out a great deal of money on building extensions, or the purchase of more property, or the increase of school equipment, especially of the more expensive kind ; yet if the schools are to improve themselves and satisfy their critics, this extra money must be found somehow. The staff, if they are to be tempted to come into preparatory schools, and to remain in them happily without anxiety, must be offered better security and much better pay for the days when they are in their prime and probably married. No school can excel without the best possible teaching staff, and none of the best possible teachers will remain in the

schools unless they are at least relieved of unnecessary anxiety and given the opportunity to marry. There seem only two possible solutions to this. Either the fees for boarding preparatory schools must be raised considerably or else the pupil/staff ratio must almost double itself.*

CONCLUSION

The problem essentially facing the schools is how to fight two fronts of economics and politics and resolve the opposition between the need to spend money and improve quality, and the need to cut their costs to a minimum for the sake of parents' pockets. In concluding this essay, the following five-point policy is advanced and discussed as a means of preserving the schools.

- (1) To educate national opinion in the virtues of the schools.
- (2) To improve the schools.
- (3) To bring together the independent schools and the local authorities with a view to closing the gap between the two examination systems.
- (4) To press for a new committee to examine the practical workings of the Fleming proposals with a view to instituting a revised scheme.
- (5) To give tax relief to parents on school fees paid.

(1) The ultimate fate of the independent schools will depend considerably on the state of public opinion at the time when the crisis develops. Those who support and patronise the schools are an electoral minority. On the other hand, so strong is the case for these schools on educational grounds that I believe there will be excellent chance of mollifying public opinion at that time if those interested in the schools follow a steady, sober, and relentless publicity and information policy over the years ahead. Tell the country how good the schools are, tell them frequently and tell them with restraint; this way, at the end of ten years, there is every chance of having the majority on their side.

- (2) I have already adequately discussed this.

* Generally in a boarding-school there are ten boys to one staff.

(3) At the moment, there is a wide gap between the examinations of preparatory and public schools and county primary and secondary schools. If a boy from a county school is selected to go to a public school he has first to pass into a grammar school; and grammar schools are not in the least keen to have a boy for two years when they might have another for six years. Similarly, if, for various reasons, a child at a preparatory school needs to take the ten-plus county exam, he is at a disadvantage compared to the county primary-school child, since in the preparatory schools at the age of ten he is working on a wider curriculum. It would do a great deal of good in furthering the concept, which I feel must be the concept of the future, of a partnership between the State and independent education if the independent schools would take the initiative and invite a discussion of these examination gaps with education authorities.

(4) Unfortunately, the Fleming scheme as worked in the post-war years seems now to be dying a natural death. Yet such a scheme in its essentials has a twofold importance to the independent schools. On one hand it will assist a wider entry into the schools and bring to the notice of those who have not had their benefit that the schools are very good ones. On the other hand, when numbers begin to drop in our public schools there will not be one of them which will not welcome a fifth or a quarter of its pupils being paid for by the local or central funds.

(5) The grounds for asking tax relief are well known, namely, that the parents who are paying fees at an independent school are thus saving places in a State school, and should therefore receive a relief up to that cost. It is a reasonable case, and two alternatives seem feasible for its operation: one is a flat allowance of the cost of a place against a parent's income tax; the other is to give tax relief on the amount of fees paid, as is done with life insurance premiums. It is to be hoped that as soon as the country can afford it, some such gesture will be made.

The case for independent education does not rest entirely on their superiority over State education; it rests no less upon its value as a sign of our national freedom. As long as even one independent school or tutor is allowed to work, we can rest assured that freedom of thought still

remains. Once independent education ceases, for whatever reason, then an important warning light will have been extinguished and we shall be one step nearer serfdom. In this essay I have dwelt upon the threats, possibly too much, but, as with every threat, these must be coolly examined and precautions taken. Yet, as with every threat, so long as these remain threats there is still hope that the schools will survive.

JAMES NOWELL

Art. 7.—INTEREST.

Interest me, said the Romans: 'there is something in common between that other and me.' What appeals to you depends on what is already in you.

What is in us? At first examination, pessimism is produced. Ibn Khaldun (fourteenth century A.D.), described by Professor Arnold Toynbee as the greatest philosopher-of-history of all time, said that man was still under the predominance of his inherited animal instincts, and this seems to be true now. In a recent book on 'Animal Courtship' * it is argued that sex is 100 per cent. instinct in the lower animals and in human beings it is still about 95 per cent. instinct. Another inheritance operating powerfully to-day is the herd instinct. When the ancestor of man left the shelter of trees for terra firma, he was exposed to great perils. Naked and weaponless save for fragile sticks and clumsy stones, these animals were obliged to rely on the solidarity of, and subordination to, the horde—on uniting with the herd. It was this severe discipline, continued after man had become man, that developed the strength of the herd instinct. When tools were developed, man developed an instinct for possession.

What about race? Race is the habits, physical and mental, which a large group of beings acquire in common through experiencing things in common and acting in common so that the results in them become ingrained and inherited—so that they are distinctive of the group. For example, on the physical side there is the dark pigmentation in tropical climates, the light pigmentation in northern climates; in the Mongolian type the slanting eyes due to the necessity of keeping them always half-closed and screwed-up against the all-pervading dust of the great plains of Asia. On the mental side there are in common *les plis de la pensée*, the inborn tendencies of thought, emotion, and action, the definite bents which the mind takes from the habits of generations.

One of the races that most concern us is the Nordic. About 2500 B.C. the parent peoples of this race were living near the Caspian Sea, wandering over the grassy steppes with their cattle and horses. From about 2000 B.C. the Aryan peoples in south-east Europe multiplied so that

* By Dr Maurice Burton.

emigration became necessary for lack of food. They had domesticated the horse and invented the wheeled vehicle. They became a wagon-dwelling people moving in search of pasture. People who lead such a life must be practical.

The Semites were similar to the Nordics: nomads, lovers of horses, masculine in their religion, practically minded. Both Nordics and Semites, having an animal economy, were centrally interested in *pecunia** and the increase or interest it yielded.

Nordics descended on peoples of Mediterranean race in a succession. The latter type also concerns us greatly. Being agriculturists, they were centrally interested in Mother Earth, the Great Mother,† and were cultured and civilised—sensitive, imaginative, artistic. The Mediterranean type feels deeply, likes grace and light. Nordics, inter-marrying with Mediterraneans, produced a series of the most successful civilisations: ancient India, Persia, Greece, Rome, and modern civilisation. 'The north has the greater strength, the south the higher civilisation. But the truly creative zone appears to be the surf-line where the current of strength enters the area of civilisation. The surf-line moves slowly from the east to the west and up towards the north.'‡

There were plenty of Semites and Nordics in the Alexandrian civilisation and it developed capitalism and a number of its organisations. In the Roman civilisation, it is evident, the Nordics predominated and in it capitalism was practised. As the Roman Empire came to be invaded, more Nordics settled in north Italy, and there laid the foundations of one of the main bases of modern civilisation. Nordics invaded Spain and made possible its great period under Islam. Nordics descended on the northern shores of continental Europe.

All this time the individual was regarded as a mere cell in an organism. Spengler argued that the sense of individuality did not begin to find expression in language until the emergence of modern languages and Merovingian times (A.D. 500–700). This change extended over both

* Lat. *pecu*, *pecus*, animals kept for food or service.

† A cult of the Great Mother tends to appear where there are enough people of Mediterranean race. Latin Catholicism, writes Dr Bouquet, 'is essentially the religion of the Mediterranean world of the dark-whites' ('Comparative Religion', p. 168).

‡ Weizacker, 'The History of Nature,' p. 147.

Germanic and Latin languages. Instead of *sum*, Gothic *im*, people began to say *ich bin*, *I am*, *je suis*; instead of *fecisti* to say *tu habes factum*, *tu as fait*, *du habes getan*; and again, *un homme*, *man hat*. But in the life of the individual also, the practical claimed dominant interest in modern civilisation. In Old English literature and in the literature of kindred peoples there was an unblushed-for gold nexus between the warrior and his 'lord,' the 'guardian of the loaf.' 'Wedding' meant the depositing of the price of the wife.

The Arabs, with their hereditary sense of *pecunia* and its increase, took up the financial inventions of the Alexandrian civilisation and brought them to the West. Normans proved their readiest pupils. Modern finance dates from them. Tens of thousands of Arabic coins of the seventh century have been found in Sweden, taken home by Northmen. The same people's kindred carved out in northern France the most creative principality of the Middle Ages. Towards the end of the tenth century the Normans organised their booty in lands and peoples into an economic power and founded the financial system characteristic of Western civilisation which has spread all over the world. From the table set out in the manner of a chess-board in the counting-house of Robert the Devil of Normandy (1028-35) originated the words 'exchequer'* and 'cheque,' these coming from the Muslims (from Persian *chak*). Later, the Templars began to use letters of credit and lend at interest.

The similarities between the Nordics and the Semites may explain why the Old Testament came home to the Nordics as it did. Both among Semites and Nordics the idea of the brotherhood was potent. In the literature of the ancient Jews 'usury' was frowned upon because, scholars tell us, the brotherhood of the tribe forbade members to take interest from other members of the tribe—they might take interest from outsiders. Jewish literature became the Old Testament for Christians, retaining author-

* The word 'chancellor' in the phrase 'Chancellor of the Exchequer' also has an interesting history. The word 'chancel' was derived from *cancer*, *cancellus*, *cancelli*. The crab makes criss-crosses, so the grille was little crabs. The word *cancellarius* was used in the fourth century A.D. in the sense of 'a kind of doorkeeper,' in the sixth century by Cassiodorus as 'secretary.' So 'Chancellor of the Exchequer' means the man who sits beyond the grille, keeping the accounts.

ity, and, as interpreted by Christians, the prohibition of usury applied only among members of the new brotherhood. As the economy of modern civilisation developed, the need for capitalism emerged and was met through Christians being able to borrow money on interest from Jews, and Jews being able to lend money on interest to Christians. Later, the Alexandrian invention of the joint-stock company, mediated by the Muslims, was found to meet the needs of Christians without borrowing from Jews because Christian morality was regarded as applicable only to individual souls and it was discovered thus early that a company did not have a soul to be damned, and so in Nordic north Italy developed the *compagna*, which became a model for our economy.* A sideline was developed when a Jewish family of prosperous doctors, the Medici, took the precaution of requiring concrete pledges for loans, and so their sign of three golden pills became the sign of the pawnbroker. The best of both worlds was made when the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels were paid for out of the interest charged on loans to the King of England at 180 per cent.

In modern English for the hateful word 'usury' was found the proper substitute 'interest.' If you want to use other people's money, you must make it to their interest to lend it and your payment is their interest in your enterprise.

Interest of the prosaic kind goes of course beyond money. If we want to appease the Russians really, we must get them to see that, from their point of view and in their understanding, it is in their interests to take certain lines. In home economy the same clue holds.

All that we have said so far has been in connection with inheritance of the proclivity to practical interests. But there is also the inheritance of the moral experience, sensitiveness, imagination, culture, art, feeling, courtesy, grace. There have been and are higher interests in life than the practical ones, the observance of which lifts us from a somewhat pessimistic view of life to an optimistic one. The point we are making at the moment is the central place in life that interest has. It is in truth the main clue to achievement. The child follows interest. If you want

* Few people realise that on our Bank of England notes the promise to pay is made on behalf of the Governors and *compagna*, or that a principal financial street in London is named after Lombardy.

it to be occupied, you try to interest it. Whilst it is in the (subsequent) interest of the child that it should also drudge at things that do not interest it, nevertheless interest is the main clue in education. If the pupil can be interested, more than half of the battle is won, and the good teacher is he who can make a subject so interesting as to induce us to work at it. Notice how this clue continues through life. If a young man or woman is interesting to a person of the other sex, half of that other battle is won. How common are the utterances 'Are you interested . . . ?' 'I would like to interest you in . . .'

What a difference it makes to one's interest in a thing if one is concerned in it oneself! In Jerome K. Jerome's 'Three Men in a Boat,' it will be remembered, when the three were bathing and George saw a shirt floating on the river, he roared with laughter, taking it to belong to one of the others, but when he found it was his, the joke was not so rich. Principal Emslie, of Westminster College, Cambridge, reading a paper to a society, broke off and said, 'It does make a difference if you are in a thing yourself: you have no idea how interesting this paper sounds to me!'

Does not all this point to the central part played by interest in life? Who are the happy people, the contented? Surely those who have interests and are interested, who can 'lose themselves.' How often it happens that men who have 'retired' mope and die. An old man said to me recently, 'The days are so long!'—whereas people who are bursting with life, as, for example, Bernard Shaw was, can never find time enough to do all they want to. I once heard of a retired policeman who had so little interest that he daily walked in mufti the same beat he had when in the force. It has been argued seriously that one reason why women live longer than men is that even in old age household duties claim them and occupy their interest.

'The very first necessity of a democratic parliamentary system,' Mr D. C. Somervell has written, 'is that it should be *interesting*.'* So with reading-matter. If an electric current is passed through a part of a person's body, the change of resistance consequent on emotional stress can be registered by galvanometer: it has been ascertained

* Between the Wars, p. 92.

that perusal of reading-matter which interests a reader causes wider deflections of the needle than does perusal of matter with which he is little concerned.

In art, interest is of central importance. Croker wrote, 'The first and the second and the third requisite in a play are interest, interest, interest: the language and the plot and the persons are all secondary considerations. The characterisation may be perfect, the plot and language excellent, but if there is not *interest*, the play cannot succeed.' How true this is of literature in general!—'a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney corner,' the things which 'come home to men's business and bosoms.' Is it not ultimately the basic criterion in art?—bearing in mind of course that good art judges us: are we developed enough to be interested in it? When Andrew Carnegie spoke contemptuously of Latin as being dead, J. S. Phillimore said, 'Latin is dead to Mr Carnegie because Mr Carnegie is dead to Latin.'

But now, having established the importance of interest in life, we encounter the paradox that you may become so interested in something that you become an interested party, not in the good sense but in the sense of being so interested that you allow your interest to stand in the way of other people's legitimate interests, and so we learn that we ought to be interested so that we are disinterested. What is the beyond outside me and in me that imposes the Categorical Imperative of duty? What makes one respond to truth, goodness, and beauty as requiring one's absolute loyalty? What makes one discover the smaller self and its selfishness and pass beyond interest to disinterestedness, detachment, independence of mind and objectivity? Is it not the awareness of the larger whole of reality, partly realised inside us and outside us, but greatly transcending the world of the senses? Mr Charles Morgan wrote, 'The walls go up unscalable and all energy, life itself, consists in making them transparent and ultimately in passing through them.' Can it be that in the deeper depths within us and without us is the Self which is the perfect life, and that the real clue to life is not self-expression but Self-expression? May it be that the end of life is the assimilation of all that is valuable in all the experience of all others?

R. F. RATTRAY

Art. 8.—LETTERS AS LITERATURE.

LETTERS make up by spontaneity for the lack of patient craftsmanship which is devoted to works of literature. They spring from a common impulse to convey immediate impressions received of people or of events, of nature or of personal emotions, and they often have a sparkling freshness which may be lost in the labour of striving to canalise the flow of thought and feeling. Art is individual experience of life communicated to the world through the particular medium of the artist, selective, polished, and fashioned to last, as letters are not ; yet they are the result of the same process and they too may have a literary quality which is of permanent value. Women are usually good letter-writers, and they have excelled in the novel rather than in drama or poetry because the same gift of detailed observation is required in both, as well as an unending interest in daily happenings, no matter how trivial these may be. A diarist finds equal fascination in chronicling affairs great and small, and at the same time he paints a self-portrait without thought of an audience, except for an occasional hopeful side-glance at posterity. A letter, being intended for another besides himself, reveals both the writer and the person to whom it is addressed. Literary competitions, which are so popular a feature of many weekly papers, might well include letters from famous people, awarding the prize for guessing, not who wrote them, but for whom they were intended. The essence of two personalities, writer and recipient, can lie like pressed flowers between the faded pages.

It lies in the Paston Letters, written five hundred years ago, from the first quarter of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, by or to members of the Paston family in Norfolk. They are like tiny illuminated pictures in the margin of the text of history, giving a kind of reality to events long past because of their impact on the persons who related them, but they are more than that. The spelling is archaic and the style stiff and formal — 'Most reverent and worshipful father,' writes a son, 'I recommend me heartily, and submit me lowly to your good fatherhood, beseeching you for charity of your daily blessing' — yet life stirs in the letters, and men and women love and scold and fear and bargain. The resolute Paston

women manage the business of the Manor while their husbands are absent, and there is much to write of the price of corn and malt and the buying and selling of land. Papers and keys are lost and must be sought. Requests are made for money and for all manner of things : loaf-sugar, almonds, gold embroidery thread, lace like the pattern inside the letter, purple or black satin doublets, two pairs of hose to be sent in haste because the wearer has not one pair whole. There are tidings of deaths and births—in the latter case God frequently takes the babe back unto Himself—and of disasters : flooding rain, robberies, pestilence ‘fervent in Norwich,’ and of approaching enemies :

‘Right Reverend and worshipful husband,’ writes Margaret, ‘I recommend me to you with all my simple heart and pray you to know that there came up XI hundred Flemings at Waxham, whereof were taken and killed and drowned VIII hundred.’

Secrets are confided which must on no account go further. ‘Cousin, I pray you, burn this letter,’ writes Elizabeth Clere to John Paston. ‘For if my cousin, your mother, knew that I had sent this letter, she would never love me.’ Marriages are arranged as a matter of business. Agnes sends her husband William tidings of a young gentlewoman come by appointment to make the acquaintance of their son John, whom she is to marry, and she wants him to buy a gown, either of goodly blue or else of bright sanguine, for his future daughter-in-law. A young man asks his brother to spy out a thrifty wife for him in London. What would ‘a mother depart with if a good marriage were to be had?’ An account of a meeting with a young woman is followed at once by the comment, ‘and as for the money and plate, it is ready whensoever she is wedded.’ Wives are anxious about the health of their husbands when they are away. A son is told that his grandam would fain have tidings of him, and that it would be well if he sent her a letter as hastily as might be. There is affection in the letters and even, although very rarely, a touch of playfulness, as when John Paston writes :

‘My Lord Percy and all his house
Recommend them to you, dog, cat and mouse.’

Light-hearted fun was to come later, when the tight bands of formality had become loosened and individuality was allowed greater free play. In 1627 Dorothy Osborne was born, daughter of a Royalist family. She grew up into a lively, pretty girl who was much sought after, one of her suitors being Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector; but Dorothy fell in love with Sir William Temple and would consider nobody else. The young man's parents wanted him to make a better match and her own family detested him; he was away a great deal abroad or in Ireland or London, and during a courtship lasting seven years the lovers had to console themselves as best they could by their correspondence. Dorothy was intelligent, of independent mind, often merry and sometimes sad. She wrote as she felt, having no patience, she declared, with a gentleman who would never say simply, 'the weather grew cold,' but rather that 'winter began to salute us.' Although three centuries separate her from the present time and less than two lie between her and the last of the Pastons, her style is nearer to our own than to their Tudor formality.

She implores William not to be reckless about his health but to take good care of it always. She longs to hear from him—'Your letter came like a pardon to one upon the block'; or else, 'I found no fault with the ill writing, 'twas but too easy to read, methought, for I had done much sooner than I could have wished.' She writes about the books which she reads and wants to send him one in several volumes, but thinks better of it:

'But what an ass am I to think you can be idle enough at London to read romances! No, I'll keep them till you come hither; here they be welcome to you for want of better company.'

When he scolds her she teases him:

'I have been reckoning up how many faults you lay to my charge in your last letter, and find I am severe, unjust, unmerciful and unkind. Oh me, how should one do to mend all these! 'Tis work for an age, and 'tis to be feared I shall be so old before I am good, that 'twill not be considerable to anybody but myself whether I am so or not.'

She tells him what ingredients are required in a husband to make her happy: he must have had the same breeding

as herself, 'he must not be so much a country gentleman as to understand nothing but hawks and dogs, and be fonder of either than of his wife,' he must not be a town gallant spending his time in a tavern, nor 'a travelled Monsieur, whose head is all feathers inside and outside,' he must not be a fool nor peevish nor proud, and he must love her and she him. It is clear, in short, that he must be none other than William Temple.

She describes her daily life in her letters and all that happens around her. How he would have laughed, she writes, if he could have heard her brother and a friend talking as they sat beside the fire :

'They fell into a discourse of flying ; and both agreed that it was very possible to find out a way so that people might fly like birds, and despatch their journeys so : I, that had not said a word all night, started up at that, and desired that they would say a little more in it, for I had not marked the beginning ; but instead of that, they both fell into so violent a laughing, that I should appear so much concerned in such an art ; but they little knew of what use it might have been to me.'

The use would, of course, have been the possibility of flying to her lover, whom she ultimately married, thus bringing to an end the long correspondence between them.

Diaries are like letters in directness and intimacy, and when the latter are sent with almost daily regularity to the same recipient the line between them is not sharply drawn. Swift's 'Journal to Stella,' as the name implies, has something of the quality of both. For three years, from 1710 until 1713, he wrote down all that interested him for Esther Johnson as though he were recording it for himself ; he discussed most things except religion, which seems strange for a Dean. He told Stella what he had for dinner : 'Is it not plaguy insipid to tell you every day where I dine ? yet now I have got into the way of it, I cannot forbear it neither.' He told her what he said to Harley and what Harley said to him ; how he laughed with Congreve and quarrelled with Steele ; what books he bought and what physic he took ; how a week of plaguy bad weather had cost him ten shillings in coach and chair hire ; how he had heard that the consent of the French king to the queen's demands had been carried to Utrecht, so that the peace would probably be signed very soon.

It was not a journal in the true sense because it was written in the form of letters, and therefore it is not the Dean alone who emerges from his pages, but the woman to whom they were addressed as well, a charming, teasing, lively creature. She was a saucy rogue, a sluttikins, an unreasonable baggage, her spelling was atrocious, she played cards. 'Is it ombre? Your card purse! you a card purse? you a fiddle stick.' He dreamed about her and was full of concern for her welfare. No doubt if he had been writing for himself alone he would have had a good deal more to say about his London friend, Mrs Vanhomrigh, with whom he dined frequently, and where, while he lived in Chelsea, 'I keep my best gown and periwig to put on when I come to town and be a spark.' References to her are wisely scanty and brief, for Stella might not have been pleased if another lady had figured over much in their correspondence, and the 'Journal' was meant to please Stella.

'When I find you are happy or merry there, it makes me feel so here, and I can hardly imagine you absent when I am reading your letter or writing to you. No, faith, you are just here upon this little paper, and therefore I see and talk with you every evening constantly.'

It is exactly this conjuring up of another human being, this sense of another presence 'just here upon this little paper,' which distinguishes letters from all other forms of literature.

A didactic writer may consider that other presence as little more than a receptacle for his own philosophy of life. Lord Chesterfield's famous 'Letters to his Son,' in the middle of the eighteenth century, are a perfect example of instruction by correspondence. They read like a lively book of etiquette, containing the complete code of the man-of-the-world, or rather of the gentleman-of-the-world. The illegitimate son is taught how to rub off 'the English crust of awkward bashfulness, and shyness, and roughness.' He is told to 'endeavour, as much as you can, to keep company with people above you.' He is to choose his pleasures with care and to beware of indiscriminate friendships. 'Good manners are, to particular societies, what good morals are to society in general—their cement and their security.' The appearance of religion and morality must be kept up, but for that the moral character

must be pure and above suspicion, and good breeding involves a certain amount of unselfishness. Laughter is undesirable on account 'of the disagreeable noise it makes, and the shocking distortion of the face that it occasions.' According to Lord Chesterfield, 'Style is the dress of thoughts,' and his own style is as immaculate as a well-cut coat of brocade. Yet somehow the letters, for all their elegance and literary polish, lack the poetic essence of literature; the reason is perhaps that, as he says himself: 'I know nothing in the world but poetry that is not to be acquired by application and care.'

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries letters were frequently like the gossip columns in the newspapers to-day. It was the fashion to remark on all that went on in society and politics, to quiz one's contemporaries, to be in the know. Horace Walpole, whose span of life covered most of the eighteenth century (1717-97), has left behind nearly three thousand letters, the social commentary of a man who knew everybody and went everywhere. Incidentally, he, like Dorothy Osborne, was interested in flying:

'Strawberry Hill.

'To the Hon. H. S. Conway, October 15, 1784.

'As I was writing this, my servants called me away to see a balloon; I suppose Blanchard's, that was to be let off from Chelsea this morning. I saw it from the common field before the window of my round tower. It appeared about the size of the moon, or less, when setting, something above the tops of the trees on the level horizon. It was then descending; and, after rising and declining a little, it sunk slowly behind the trees, I should think about or beyond Sunbury, at five minutes after one. . . . Only 'tother night I diverted myself with a sort of meditation on future *airgonation*, supposing that it will not only be perfected, but will depose navigation. . . . But I chiefly amused myself with ideas of change that would be made in the world by the substitution of balloons to ships.'

He imagined seaports deserted and a balloon flying in a few days to China, stopping at the top of the Monument to take in passengers. But the following summer there was a disaster and a French *airgonaut* and his companions were killed. Thereupon Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann:

June 21, 1785.

'How Posterity will laugh at us, one way or other! If half a dozen break their necks, and Balloonism is exploded, we

shall be called fools for having imagined it could be brought to use : if it should be turned to account, we shall be ridiculed for having doubted.'

Two letters from great ladies may be quoted as random examples of contemporary style. In January 1758, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, living abroad, in the course of a regular correspondence with her daughter, the Countess of Bute, wrote to her, referring to the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry :

'Your account of the changes in ministerial affairs do not surprise me ; but nothing could be more astonishing than their all coming together. It puts me in mind of a friend of mine who had a large family of favourite animals ; and not knowing how to convey them to his country-house in separate equipages, he ordered a Dutch mastiff, a cat and her kittens, a monkey, and a parrot, all to be packed up together in one large hamper, and sent by a waggon. One may easily guess how this set of company made their journey ; and I have never been able to think of the present compound ministry without the idea of barking, scratching, and screaming. 'Tis too ridiculous a one, I own, for the gravity of their characters, and still more for the situation the kingdom is in ; for as much as one may encourage the love of laughter, 'tis impossible to be indifferent to the welfare of one's native country.

'Adieu ! Your affectionate mother.'

Lady Holland, corresponding as regularly with her son, Henry Fox, who was abroad, wrote to him at the end of August 1824 :

'We are excessively overcome here by heavy fogs, augmented by the East winds and smoke of London ; not above 4 hours in 24 clear. This heavy atmosphere oppresses us all extremely, but nothing seriously amiss. Ly C. Ashley's marriage is declared with Mr Lister ; he is well spoken of, but is not rich enough to have a lovely wife out of a great house, & have a hunting establishment besides. He has only 3000*l.* per an. L. Smith has been cured of his love some months, so looks upon the affair with indifference, adding that had he not been cured, the choice of such a suitor would have done it. He says they are an insipid pair. What says Ld Ashley ? The D. of York dined here on Sunday, & was in tiptop spirits, excellent health, & much more agreeable than he was ever known to be. He was very obliging to Charles, but merely distantly civil to Mrs Charles, who is a nice person & deserved more partiality.'

And so on, in the same strain.

These ladies and Horace Walpole wrote in order to convey news, whether trivial or important, and the literary value of letters of this sort depends on the personality of those who send them. But the letters of a writer are actually a part of his literary output, no less than novels or poems or plays. André Maurois, in an Introduction to the 'Letters of Lord Byron,' points out that 'the reader whose knowledge of Byron is confined to his poetry has an incomplete and false picture of the man.' He compares the prose of the letters to the tone of the poems, finding the same vigour and movement in both. Byron's letters live when, as so often, he is mocking, as when he writes to John Murray in 1821 :

'I have no patience with the sort of trash you send me out by way of books; except Scott's novels, and three or four other things, I never saw such work or works. Campbell is lecturing, Moore idling, Southey twaddling, Wordsworth driveling, Coleridge muddling, Joanna Baillie piddling, Bowles quibbling, squabbling and sniveling.'

And they live when he is profoundly in earnest, as when he writes to Lady Byron, after their separation, pleading for kindness to his sister :

April 14, 1816.

' " More last words "—not many—and such as you will attend to—answer I do not expect—nor does it import—but you will hear me.—I have just parted from Augusta—almost the last being you had left me to part with—and the only unshattered tie of my existence—wherever I may go—and I am going far—you and I can never meet again in this world—nor in the next—Let this content or atone.—If any accident occurs to me—be kind to *her*,—if she is then nothing—to her children;— . . . be kind to her and hers—for never has she acted or spoken otherwise towards you—she has ever been your friend—this may seem valueless to one who has now so many :—be kind to her—however—and recollect that though it may be advantage to you to have lost your husband—it is sorrow to her to have the waters now—or the earth hereafter—between her and her brother.'

Statesmen can be as impersonal in their letters as in their official despatches, yet private feelings do sometimes shine for a moment through the dull mass of public business. The mutual affection between Disraeli and Queen Victoria

is not altogether hidden, in spite of the formality of their correspondence. The Queen's last letter to him before his death is a curiously touching revelation of her womanly nature under all the inhibitions, to which her name has given the adjective 'Victorian.'

'Windsor Castle. April 5, 1881.

'Dearest Lord Beaconsfield,—I send you a few of your favourite spring flowers—this time from the slopes here. I will send some more from Osborne.

'I would have proposed to come to see you, but I think it is far better you should be quite quiet, and that I may then have the greater pleasure of coming to see you when we come back from Osborne, which won't be long. You are very constantly in my thoughts, and I wish I could do anything to cheer you and be of the slightest use or comfort.

'With earnest wishes for your uninterrupted progress in recovery,

'Ever yours affectionately,

'V.R.I.

'You shall hear of our safe arrival at Osborne as usual.'

Letters of men who are prominent in the political life of the nation belong less to literature than to history, as a letter from Mr Asquith to his wife, shortly before the First World War, may serve to illustrate :

'Jan. 20, 1914.

'I find political affairs very much embrangled, as Ld. G. and Winston are still poles apart over the Navy, and it looks as if it might eventually come to breaking-point. If this were plainly inevitable sooner than have a smash-up and resignation, I should probably dissolve Parliament and run the risk of the election. I had a long talk with Grey this morning (the only colleague I have yet seen) and he inclines to that view. But it is too soon to come to decisions, and as the expected rarely happens, the clouds may blow over.'

During the nineteenth century letters were poured out in an ever-increasing spate. It was fortunate for biographers of eminent Victorians that they always had packets of correspondence at their disposal, from which to compile the life stories of their subjects. It was not only prominent and important persons who found time to write endless letters : it seemed as though anybody who knew how to hold a pen was impelled to communicate ideas,

observations, and opinions. But with the invention of the telephone the flood of notes and letters was stemmed, and in our own century the telephone-bell very nearly tinkled the death-knell of all correspondence save that dealing with affairs of which a record must be kept—very nearly, but not quite. There are circumstances in which the pen is still needed to link friends to one another, and modern letters are sometimes more vital and vivid, if less elegant, than they were in the past.

Katherine Mansfield and D. H. Lawrence both travelled abroad in search of health, and both had a gift for self-expression which transformed their letters into literature. The former, who was consumptive and died at the early age of thirty-five, poured out the best of herself in her voluminous correspondence. During her lifetime she was overrated as a writer, but in her letters there is a quality which may still attract readers when her slight, bitter stories are forgotten. Her intense sensibility makes it seem as though her soul lacked a protective outer skin, and she may subconsciously have been aware of the shadow of death spreading before her: under the glittering, febrile urgency of her race against time there is a tragic loneliness, a nostalgia for the normal sweetness of a woman's life.

'Oh—how I *loathe* hotels,' she wrote to Lady Ottoline Morrell in May 1918. 'I know I shall die in one. I shall stand in front of a *crochet dressing table cover*, pick up a long invisible hairpin left by the last "lady" and die with disgust. It's almost funny—loving as I do, loving passionately, beautiful rooms, the shape of furniture, colours, quiet, I find myself wandering eternally in rooms papered with birds, chrysanthemums in urns and bunches of ribbons, and furnished with fumed oak and lace curtains—and that *glare* from the windows—that dreadful gape which reaches to every corner—that sense of nowhere to hide!

'But that is only part of the other, greater curse which is upon life—the curse of *loneliness*—I am quite certain that it is all wrong to live isolated and shut away as we do—never exchanging and renewing and giving AND receiving. . . . I am in despair. In such despair, that sometimes I begin weeping like a green girl—but that is no use either.'

Writing to her husband she imagined 'the sun on the breakfast table, honey in the comb to eat, you one end and me the other with three each side with their cups tilted up

to their noses.' She did not have three children on each side, she and Middleton Murry never even had one, and he only arrived in France just in time to see her before she died.

'Perhaps K. has taken the only way for her,' wrote D. H. Lawrence, after many quarrels, to Murry, when he received the news of her death. 'We keep faith—I always feel death only strengthens that, the faith between those who have it. . . .

'I wish it needn't all have been as it has been : I do wish it.

'D.H.L.'

Travelling like Katherine Mansfield in search of health, D. H. Lawrence was as prolific a correspondent as he was an author. Virginia Woolf in 'A Writer's Diary' declared that in his letters he kept repeating one idea, that he was arrogant, that he always had to be giving advice. That indeed was the man : he was obsessed with his ideas on sex, he was undoubtedly arrogant, and he probably thought that in giving advice he was fulfilling his mission to mankind. His letters have a peculiar intensity, and the people to whom he wrote, the women especially, emerge as living beings. He himself is seen as a striving, frustrated man, rejoicing in the beauty of nature, saddened and maddened by what seemed to him the stupidity of men. His novels show that he was hurt and bitter, but in his letters these feelings are stated without disguise.

Travellers whose aim is something other than a search for health often write letters which are more interesting and lively than any books which they may compile from memory and notes, after they have come home again. Gertrude Bell's letters, for instance, are much more than an account of her extraordinary achievements in the East : they reveal an exceptionally brilliant woman who was both feminine and adventurous, and who was filled with deep devotion for her father, Sir Hugh Bell. His second wife, who edited a collection of her stepdaughter's correspondence in two volumes, wrote in the Introduction :

'Through all her wanderings, whether far or near, she kept in the closest touch with her home, always anxious to share her experiences and impressions with her family, to chronicle for their benefit all that happened to her, important or unimportant : whether a stirring tale of adventure or an account of a dinner party. Those letters, varied, witty, or enthralling,

were a constant joy through the years to all those who read them.'

Letters can indeed give great joy to the recipients, no matter whether they are written by distinguished or by obscure and humble people. The impression made by contemporary events on the latter can throw a valuable sidelight on history and may well be worth keeping; a hundred years hence a letter from a bombed-out householder during the last war may have an interest for posterity scarcely less than that of a statesman who was concerned with carrying it through. The statesman's letters are more likely to be kept for ultimate publication, but there is another kind—the most intimate of all—which are most jealously preserved. Are love-letters literature?

' Adelphi Terrace. Dec. 10th, 1912.

' Oh, before you go, my Stella, I clasp you to my heart "with such a strained purity." A thousand successes, a thousand healings, a thousand braveries, a thousand prayers, a thousand beauties, a thousand hopes and faiths and loves and adorations watch over you and rain upon you. Goodnight, goodnight, goodnight, goodnight, my dearest dearest.

' G.B.S.'

That is the last paragraph of one of Bernard Shaw's love-letters to Mrs Campbell. He clearly intended them for the public, and that intention robbed them of any semblance of sincerity—they are not letters as literature, but literature in the form of letters, where love is missing.

Genuine love-letters are the poetry of ordinary life, intended for no eyes other than those of the one to whom they are addressed, and to destroy them would be wise. If they are kept too long, the joy which they once gave to the survivor of two who loved may be outweighed by pain, which the hand that penned them can comfort no more.

D. L. HOBMAN

Art. 9.—THE ROMAN CHURCH IN DIFFERING CULTURES.

AN able little book, 'A History of the [Roman] Catholic Church for Schools,' by the Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St Patrick's College, Maynooth, Dr John F. O'Doherty (Dublin 1942), has, on p. xix, this passage :

'*The Church in the Modern World.*—In the modern world the Catholic Church was forced gradually to relinquish the position of acknowledged supremacy which she had enjoyed in the Middle Ages ; was forced gradually on the defensive ; found herself progressively in conflict with the spirit of the times, in conflict with the principles and the code of the dominant civilisation. Ultimately, she found herself in a sense, back again at the starting-point in this that it is once more the story of the Church in a pagan, or new-pagan, *milieu*.'

This was seen most vividly in the Pontificate of Pius IX, the Pope of the 1870 Vatican Ecumenical Council. In 1864 he had issued his Encyclical Letter 'Quantâ Curâ,' on the relations of the Church to the modern world. It had been accompanied by a 'Syllabus of the Principal Modern Errors.' This consisted of a list of propositions which had been condemned in various Encyclicals. Amongst the 'modern errors' thus categorised for censure were anti-religious Naturalism ; the separation of Church and State ; the control of marriage and education by the State ; 'Liberalism' in politics and theology ; and the 'Syllabus' ended by condemning the proposition that 'the Roman Pontiff should come to terms with Liberalism and modern civilisation ('cum progressu, cum liberalismo, et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere').

The Encyclical and 'Syllabus,' of course, needed to be read in the light of general theological principles, and especially should the 'Syllabus' have been studied with full consideration of the fact that the propositions which it censured were simply extracts from former Encyclicals, and should be read in that context. For example, the censure of 'reconciliation with modern Liberalism and culture' meant reconciliation with them as opposed to faith : i.e. with, not true culture, but defective forms.

Nevertheless, the Papacy and the Church undoubtedly confronted, in that second half of the nineteenth century,

a 'progressive culture' largely hostile. That was emphasised in 1870 with the assembly of the Vatican Ecumenical Council. It challenged the naturalistic and agnostic spirit of the time, declaring to be an article of faith the belief that 'God, our Creator and Lord, can be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason by means of the things which are made.' It also settled the long controversy as to the seat of the inerrancy, in matters of faith and morals, of the Church. The Council's 'Constitution Pastor Eternus' defined that the Roman Pontiff, 'when he speaks *ex cathedrâ* . . ., is, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed in defining doctrine on faith and morals; and such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church (*ex ses, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ*) irreformable.'

Thus the Church confronted, with all the panoply of its historic theology, the sceptical spirit of the nineteenth century. It is doing so also in our own twentieth century. Such confrontation has produced some grave and very interesting problems of the Church's attitude to the State, civil society, toleration, etc. Such problems are illustrated—for example—if we consider the instances of Spain and the United States of America as related to Catholicism.

In considering Spain, it is emphatically necessary to do so in the light of centuries of history. For nearly 800 years that country was the scene of war between two rival races and religions. Not until 1492 was the last vestige of Muslim rule expelled from the peninsula. As a result of this so-long-protracted conflict, Spaniards inevitably tended to go to extremes. This has been so in all their disputes. The position may be illustrated by quoting an able booklet published in 1938 by the (London) Catholic Truth Society; 'The Catholic Church in Spain from 1800 till To-day,' by A. A. Parker, M.A., of Cambridge University.

'The Church,' said the booklet (p. 3), 'has been forced on to one side by the opposition of the other, which represented a political system that, in its different historical forms, has consistently attacked her.' 'It cannot be

denied (p. 16) that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Church did need reform.' In 1851 a Concordat was concluded with the Holy See. It 'affirmed (p. 24) that Catholicism was the official religion of Spain, and the public practice of any other was prohibited.' In 1854 a revolution returned to power the anti-clerical Liberals, and diplomatic relations with the Holy See were broken. The Liberals fell in 1856, but there was another revolution in 1868. A republic was proclaimed in 1873, but the monarchy (Alfonso XII) returned in 1874. There was an agreement with the Holy See. From then until 1923 two parties ('Liberal' and 'Conservative') alternated in power by the 'rotative' (agreement) system. In 1909 there was a 'Left' revolt in Barcelona. 'In April, 1931, the transformation of Spain into a republic was peacefully effected. Before the first month was out, however, rioting occurred in Madrid, in which six churches, religious houses, and colleges were destroyed by fire' (Parker, p. 32). 'The new Constitution, with its attendant legislation, completed the laicisation of the State' (p. 32).

In 1936 came the Civil War, which devastated Spain for three years. The victory of the Conservatives was followed by the establishment of the authoritative régime under Generalissimo Franco. In the course of the Civil War a manifesto, addressed to 'the Bishops of the Whole World' was issued (July 1, 1937) by the Spanish episcopate. The war is, it said,

'A fierce conflict between a people cleft in twain. On the side of the [Franco] insurgents was a spiritual force rising in the defence of order, social peace, traditional civilisation, and the Mother Country, and, most noticeably, as regards a large proportion of the people, in defence of religion. On the other side was a materialistic force—Marxist, Communist, or Anarchist—which desired to substitute for the ancient civilisation of Spain, with all its distinguishing characteristics, the brand-new "civilisation" of the Russian Soviets. . . . The Church, despite her pacific spirit and the fact that she neither desired the war nor had any part in bringing it about, could not remain indifferent during the struggle. Her doctrine and her spirit, the instinct of self-preservation and the experience of Russia, made that impossible. . . . As to the future, we cannot foretell what may happen at the conclusion of the

struggle. . . . We should be the first to regret it if for the irresponsible autocracy of a Parliament were substituted the more terrible autocracy of a dictatorship without roots in the nation.'

A struggle of irreconcilable principles, a fierce conflict of a people cleft in twain—such in truth had been this grim Spanish civil war. Yet there was one main historic force which could tend to unity: the force which had been the inspiration of the centuries-long conflict with invading Islam: the Catholic religion.

In 1950 was issued, in Spanish and English, by the Information Department of the Spanish Foreign Office at Madrid, a very detailed and most interesting White Book entitled (in Spanish) 'La Situación del Protestantismo en España, and (in English) 'The Protestant Church in Spain.' It described itself as 'six reports on an anti-Spanish campaign of defamation,' and was a minute account (with full names of clerics, etc.) of all Protestants in Spain. 'Catholicism,' it said (p. 8 of both the English and the Spanish editions), 'is an immanent characteristic which goes together with Spain herself (*Su condición católica es una característica inmanente que le conviene a España en sí misma*).' 'The problem of unity,' it stated (English ed., p. 105), 'has always been Spain's political problem number one. . . . The bond of faith alone is powerful enough to overcome this people's savage individualism, this "Kabyalism" with which Miguel de Unamuno reproached it.' The number of Protestants in Spain, and their proportion of the total population, are given (p. 17, Eng. ed.) thus: '20,000 Protestants, 10,000 being Spaniards in possession of Spanish nationality. . . . Absolute population of Spain: we shall adopt the figure of 28 million. . . . Total proportion of Protestants: 0.072%; proportion of actually Spanish Protestants: 0.036%.' The White Paper gives (with maps) full details, with many names, of these Protestants. It is stated (pp. 37-8, Eng. ed.) that 'There can be no doubt that the organisation of Protestantism in Spain is maintained from abroad, and that it could not possibly be kept up by the few Spaniards of this persuasion. [There are] twenty-five associations which regularly remit funds for the purpose; they are headed by British, American, and German bodies.' On the subject of religious toleration the White Paper

41, Eng. ed.) says: 'The spirit of Article 11 of the Constitution of the Monarchy, to which we have referred—namely official character of Catholic worship and freedom of private worship of all others—is that which has obtained since the outset of the Civil War. . . . The Section reads: "None shall be molested for his religious beliefs, nor for the private practice of his worship. No outward ceremonies or manifestations shall be permitted other than those of the Catholic religion."' On this, the White Paper (Eng. ed., p. 60) comments thus: 'In the above article the individual's liberty remains unimpaired, while the religious unity of Spain, quite inestimable for her internal peace, is guaranteed and defended: just and reasonable legislation in a state where the totality of the subjects profess one and the same religion.'

On Aug. 27, 1953, a Concordat between the Holy See and Spain was signed at the Vatican, and contained thirty-six clauses. The Vatican newspaper, 'L'Osservatore Romano,' commented on it thus: 'The Concordat negotiations, now happily concluded, rather than introducing a new order into the relations of the Holy See and Spain, merely respect and sanction, even while improving, the order which already exists.' The above-mentioned provisions of Spanish law, as to private and public worship, were incorporated in the Concordat. Another clause bound the Spanish Government 'not to legislate in mixed matters, or on such matters as could in any way affect the Church, without previous agreement with the Holy See.'

Cardinal Pla y Deniel, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, remarking on the Concordat, said in an article in 'Ecclesia,' the organ of Spanish Catholic Action (quoted in 'The Tablet,' London, Nov. 21, 1953),

'After this solemn agreement, in which the Holy See with the Spanish Government designed to tolerate the private practice of a non-Catholic religion in order to avoid harm and losses in the international realm, the Government and all the civil authorities have the obligation not to expand this tolerance. Article Six of the Spanish Charter does not authorise the expansion of this tolerance, but actually prohibits its expansion. It permits private worship, but prohibits public worship and all other public ceremonies or manifestations of non-Catholic religions. Any public meeting, any gathering in

the street, any external sign of a public, non-Catholic chapel, as well as posters and so forth, must be considered public manifestations. We permit non-Catholics, mainly foreigners, to worship privately, but we do not tolerate their engaging in proselytising propaganda of their errors to convert Catholics to their sects. That would be an abusive interpretation of Article Six of the Spanish Charter, which does not establish absolute freedom of religion. That would disturb unity and religious peace. It would contravene public order and the common good of our Catholic Spain.'

In Spain, then, as to religion we have a nation whose sovereign historic unity is bound up with Catholicism; whose Government establishes the 'Apostolic Roman religion' as the sole religion of the country; and which, while tolerating private worship of dissidents, forbids them from any public expression of their beliefs. In short, in the religious culture of Spain we have an exclusive, State-defended Catholicism.

We may now consider the position and attitude of Catholicism in a very different culture: that of the United States of America. The history of that country of course differs greatly from that of Spain. It was colonised by Puritan Protestants and also partly by Catholics, but people of all nations have flocked in to make up its population, so that it is a vast mingling of diverse national strains and faiths. The 'Official Catholic Directory for 1953' (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons) estimated the Catholic population of the United States, Alaska, and the Hawaiian Islands, as 30,425,015. The ecclesiastical hierarchy consists of four Cardinals, 26 Archbishops, and 163 Bishops. There were, in 1953, 145,222 priests, consisting of 28,386 diocesan clergy and 16,836 religious (monastic). There were 12,124 educational institutions. On Nov. 1, 1939, Pope Pius XII addressed to the United States hierarchy an Encyclical ('*Sertum Lætitiæ*') on the 150th anniversary of that hierarchy's establishment. He alluded to the manifold developments of Catholic life in the country.

'It would be,' he said, 'a long story to number the roll of all those Societies of the laity which here have won fadeless glory. Catholic Action; the Congregations of Our Lady; the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine; all are rich in good works

—richer still in future prospects. So also is the Holy Name Society. . . . Religious [monks, Jesuits, etc.] of every Order, adorned with all virtues, vie in labour in God's harvest. Religious women also (lilies in the Divine Garden) are inflamed with holy love and nobly labour for the Gospel.'

This powerful and numerous Church lives and works in the atmosphere of a State in which full private and public freedom of the multitude of diverse beliefs (and unbeliefs) not only exists but is basic to the Constitution; and in which Church and State are completely separate. In short, the ideology of the United States, on these matters, is in definite contrast to that of Spain.

In 1946 a prominent United States Catholic writer, Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., published in the Catholic magazine 'America' an article (afterwards reprinted, condensed, in the 'Catholic Digest,' Jan. 1947) entitled 'Separation of Church and State.' Its argument was that American Catholics not merely may acquiesce in, for the sake of expediency, the U.S.A. principle of religious freedom and no legal establishment of any religious body, but may uphold it *as good in itself*.

Clause 1 of the First Amendment of the U.S.A. Constitution declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' As to this, Father Murray said: 'The confused polemist, of course, can make use of the formula with great effect: "Catholics support separation of Church and State in the U.S.; they oppose it in Spain. You see, therefore, what unprincipled power-politicians they are; they act solely on immoral grounds of expediency."' Father Murray rebuts this contention thus: The phrase, 'separation of Church and State' has alternative meanings. On the European continent it signifies 'a "lay" State, predicted on atheistic or agnostic principles, militantly aggressive in opposition to religion.' It is only *that* form of separation that Catholics oppose. The United States form is quite other. It is 'of a peculiarly American form, in consequence of a natively American and entirely valid theory of religious liberty. That is why Catholics support it, not only in practice (as expedient for themselves) but in principle, as sound in itself.' That 'natively American theory, entirely valid,' is that

' the U.S.A., by virtue of the first Amendment, is a "lay" State, . . . in consequence of ethical principle, and in the light of the American situation, and for the sake of its own end. It retains proper authority over the lay life of its citizens—their life *as citizens* ; but it has no authority over their religious lives. In Madison's phrase, it is " not a competent judge of religious truths," and it has no power to enforce acceptance of them. . . . It cannot silence any particular religious utterance because it is the utterance of one of its citizens ; on the other hand, it cannot espouse any religious utterance, because it is the utterance of *only one* of its citizens.'

The Catholicism of the United States of America, then, works in an atmosphere whose sociological ideology differs widely from that of the Catholicism of Spain : yet both are of the same Church. Is there a logical conflict or mutual contradiction in that position ? A reply to this question is to be sought in a study of the principles of Catholic theology as related to sociology—and especially as those principles are laid down in Papal Encyclicals.

Especially since the time of the Vatican Council of 1870, the Popes have addressed themselves with increasing frequency to the issuing of Encyclicals (general letters to the Catholic world, or some section thereof, on any subject deemed of importance). These documents do not necessarily come, either wholly or partly, under the 1870 definition of Infallibility—though some may do so at least in part. Being, however, solemn utterances of the highest ecclesiastical authority, they are to be received ' with interior religious assent ' (Addis and Arnold, ' Catholic Dictionary,' London, 1917, article ' Encyclicals '). A very copious writer of these letters was the long-lived Leo XIII (1878–1903), but his successors have followed his example. We may quote, then, from Encyclicals.

Leo XIII's ' Arcanum Divinæ ' (February 1880) dealt specifically with the questions of the Sacrament of Matrimony, but in one passage it alluded thus to the relations of Church and State : ' No one doubts that Jesus Christ, the Founder of the Church, willed her sacred power to be distinct from the civil power, and each power to be free and unfettered in its own sphere : with, however, this condition—a condition good for both, and of advantage to all men—that union and concord should be maintained between them, and that on those matters which are, in

different ways, of common right and authority, the power to which secular matters have been entrusted should happily and becomingly depend on the other Power which has in its charge the interests of Heaven.'

In 'Immortale Dei' ('On the Christian Constitution of States,' Nov. 1, 1885), Leo XIII wrote: 'Since, then, no one is allowed to be remiss in the service due to God, and since the chief duty of all men is to cling to religion in both its teaching and practice—not such a religion as they may prefer, but the religion which God enjoins, and which most clear and sure marks show to be the alone true religion,— . . . it is a sin for the State not to have a care for religion, as something beyond its scope, or of no practical benefit; or from any forms of religion to adopt that one which chimes in with the fancy: for we are bound absolutely to worship God in the manner shown by Him as His will.' As to toleration: 'The Church indeed deems it unlawful to place various forms of Divine Worship on the same footing as the true Religion; but she does not, on that account, condemn those rulers who, for the sake of securing some greater good, or of hindering some great ill, tolerate in practice that these various forms of religion have a place in the State.'

In 'Libertas Præstantissimum' ('On Human Liberty,' June 20, 1888), the same Pope wrote: 'Justice forbids and reason itself forbids, the State to be godless, or to take a line of action which would end in godlessness, namely, treating the various religions, as they call them, alike, and giving them equal rights and privileges. Since, then, the profession of one religion is necessary to the State, that religion must be professed which alone is true, and can be known without difficulty, especially in Catholic States, because the marks of truth are, as it were, engraven on it.' Nevertheless: 'With the discernment of a true Mother, the Church weighs the great burden of human weakness, and well knows the course down which the minds and actions of men in this our age are being carried. Therefore, while not conceding any right to anything which is not true and honest, she does not forbid public authority to tolerate what varies from truth and justice, for the sake of avoiding some greater evil, or obtaining and preserving some greater good. . . . But, to judge rightly, we must admit that the more a State is compelled to tolerate evil,

the further is it from being perfect, and that tolerance of evil—arising from political prudence—should be confined strictly to the limits which its justifying cause, the public welfare, demands.'

In 'Sapientiae Christianae' ('On the Duties of Citizens,' Jan. 10, 1890) he wrote: 'If the laws of the State are clearly varying from Divine Law, containing enactments hurtful to the Church, or carrying orders against duties of religion, or if they violate, in the person of the Sovereign Pontiff, the authority of Jesus Christ, it becomes truly a duty to resist, a crime to obey: a crime, moreover, combined with misdemeanour against the State itself, since every offence levelled against religion is also a sin against the State.'

In his Encyclical 'Quadragesimo Anno' ('On the Social Order,' May 15, 1931), Pope Pius XI named and reaffirmed the chief Letters of Leo XIII, especially 'Arcanum Divinae,' 'Immortale Dei,' 'Sapientiae Christianae,' and 'Libertas.'

On Dec. 6, 1953, the Pope at present (1954) reigning, Pius XII, received the National Convention of Italian Catholic Jurists. (See report in 'The Tablet,' London, Jan. 9, 1954.) He went with great care, and in detail, into problems of the relations of Church and State and of liberty and toleration. 'Two principles,' he said, 'are clarified to which recourse must be had in concrete cases for the answer to the serious questions concerning the attitude which the jurist, the statesman, and the sovereign Catholic State are to adopt in consideration of the community of nations in regard to a formula of religious and moral toleration as described above. First, that which does not correspond to truth or to the norm of morality objectively has no right to exist, to be spread, or to be activated. Second, failure to impede this with civil laws and coercive measures can nevertheless be justified in the interests of a higher and greater good.'

It seems clear, then, that in the view of Catholic theology (a) error has no right to exist; (b) that which is opposed to the revealed doctrines of Catholicism is error; (c) a rightly constituted State should support Catholicism and discourage what is opposed thereto; (d) nevertheless, in order to avoid grave evils or to attain great good, toleration of error may be permissible, or even demanded,

to an indefinite extent. It seems to come to this : having the belief of a definite Revelation which should be believed and practised by individuals and by communities, it is yet realised that those individuals and societies differ vastly, so each must be approached in the way best for the maximum happiness and good.

The Catholic ideal obviously varies from much that has been and is held as true in what Dr O'Doherty called 'the modern world.' Perhaps, however, a Catholic might say that in many important respects the ideas which have governed that world have not led to the noble results expected, but rather to confused international tendencies, loss of human and divine faith, and an Orwell menace for the future. If that be so, the Church, when warning against the defects of much 'modern thought,' may have been wise when those who scorned her were not. As Gilbert Chesterton said ('The Catholic Church and Conversion,' ed. 1951, p. 74) :

'It is in those cases that we get the real grapple of religion ; and it is in those cases that we get the peculiar and solitary triumph of the Catholic faith. It is not merely in being right when we are right, as in being cheerful or hopeful or humane. It is in having been right when we were wrong, and in the fact coming back on us like a boomerang. . . . We may very easily forget, even while we fulfil, the advice that we thought was self-evident sense. But nothing can equal our mystical and unfathomable reverence for the advice that we thought was nonsense.'

The London 'Catholic Herald,' Feb. 12, 1954, had a very interesting editorial article headed 'May Catholics Persecute ?' It discussed Pope Pius XII's address to the Italian jurists (mentioned above). The article said : 'In the course of that speech, it will be recalled, the Pope discussed the position of a Catholic country when called upon to join in a community or federation with secularist States. Could such a Catholic country subscribe to an international charter by which the members are pledged to establish in the confederal territories freedom of religion and worship ? The Pope's answer was that a Catholic country could do so.' The article continued : 'To understand the Pope's teaching, we must distinguish certain terms. The Church can never renounce "dogmatic intolerance," for by doing

so she would cease to affirm that she possesses religious truth. Equally, no one has the *objective right* to propagate error. But he has the *subjective right* and duty to hold by what he believes to be true, even if objectively it is not true. . . . Just as the greater good would demand tolerance from Catholics in a federation, so good relations within the individual State may demand tolerance among its people.'

Clearly, some fundamental problems are coming up for solution.

J. W. POYNTER.

Art. 10.—SOME FOREBEARS OF THE ILLUSTRATED PAPERS.

1. *The Pictorial Press, its Origin and Progress.* By Mason Jackson. London: Hurst and Blacket, 1885.
2. *Glances Back Through Seventy Years.* By Henry Vize-telly. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, & Co., 1893.
3. *English Newspapers.* By H. R. Fox Bourne. 2 vols. London: Chatto & Windus, 1887.
4. *English Illustration: The Nineties.* By James Thorpe. London: Faber & Faber, 1935.

THE parents of the modern illustrated paper were unquestionably the tracts and ballads, often decorated with crude woodcuts, which would be used again and again until they were fairly worn out. The ballad singer, as we learn from Sir Philip Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy,' accompanied himself upon a fiddle. It has been suggested with considerable plausibility that this man's craft was evolved in the first place from that of the mediæval minstrels who made a living by declaiming their high-flown romances in the halls of our ancient castles. If this be so, ballad singing is an adaptation for the people of a form of entertainment which had once been essentially aristocratic. Unless they emanate from the Border, the majority of our older ballads are prosaic. But then how could it be otherwise? The *special correspondent* of to-day is not condemned to forward his despatches in rhyme!

In the year 1587, as admiral of a fleet of thirty sail, Sir Francis Drake entered the harbour of Cadiz and destroyed a prodigious amount of shipping which was intended for the invasion of England. In the same year an illustrated tract appeared headed by a woodcut which is presumably designed to represent Drake's flagship in this expedition, the 'Elizabeth Bonaventure.' The curious title, which like those of many similar productions incorporates a news-summary, is worth quoting:

'The true and perfect Newes of the worthy and valiant exploytes performed and done by that valiant Knight Syr Frauncis Drake; Not only at Sancto Domingo, and Carthagena, but also now at Cales [Cadiz] and upon the Coast of Spayne,

1587. Printed at London, by J. Charlewood, for Thomas Hackett.'

The main body of the tract is taken up by a ballad which, however distressing it might be to the Muses, would be devoured with gusto by the seeker after 'Newes.' The diction is harsh; the verse crabbed; the author, one Thomas Greepe. But since we have here a true, if remote, ancestor of the modern pictorial, I cannot forbear the briefest extract: honour to pioneers!

'The *Bonaventure*, a ship royall,
Cheefe Admirall then of the fleete,
Sir Frauncis Drake, cheefe Generall,
As by desertes he was most meete.
Most worthy Captaynes of hand and heart
In this boon voyage then tooke hys part.

'The *Primrose* next, Vice-Admirall,
Appoynted by thyre best device,
Captayne Frobisher, Vice-Generall—
A valiant Captayne, ware and wyse.
Captayne Carelell they did ordayne
Lieftenant-Generall on the mayne.'

This ballad is supplemented by a letter written by Sir Francis himself to 'The right reverende, godly, learned Father, my very good friend, M. John Fox, preacher of the word of God.' In this epistle Drake gives his friend a detailed and colourful account of the action at Cadiz, where 'for the space of two dayes and nights that we continued there, we were still endangered both with thundering shott from the towne, and assailed with the roaring Cannons of twelve galleys.' The 'Fox' to whom this description is sent is John Fox the Martyrologist, and those who call Drake 'pirate' would do well to study it. A pirate is the indiscriminate enemy of all navigation; the great Devonian had no enemies but those of England. He concludes, 'I do assure myselfe that you have faithfully remembered us in your good prayers,' and he subscribes himself, 'Your loving freende, and faythfull Sonne in Christ Jesus, Frauncis Drake.' This is hardly piratical language. Those pests of the Pacific, Blackbeard and Captain Kidd, wrote no such letters and had no such 'loving freendes.'

Though the news-ballad is commonly prosaic,

picturesque exceptions are occasionally to be met with. English sailors raided Cadiz again on June 21, 1596, in what Lord Macaulay has described as, 'the most brilliant military exploit that was achieved on the Continent by English arms during the long interval that elapsed between the Battle of Agincourt and the Battle of Blenheim.' This action was carried out as a concerted measure by Lord Howard as Admiral and the Earl of Essex as General. It inflicted upon the enemy a loss amounting to the equivalent of four million sterling in money of Victoria's reign. But hear the 'special correspondent':

'The great St Philip, the pryde of the Spaniards,
Was burnt to the bottom, and sunk in the sea;
But the St Andrew, and eke the St Mathew,
We took in fight manfullye and brought away.

Dub a Dub &c

"Now," quoth the noble Earl, "courage my soldiers all,
Fight and be valiant, the spoil you shall have;
And be rewarded all, from the great to the small;
But looke that the women and children you save."

(Would a Spanish commander have thus urged his men to mercy had the case been reversed and the town taken been Plymouth or Southampton?) The enemy proceed to abandon Cadiz, first hanging up flags of truce. English colours begin now to flutter over the town. Terms are agreed upon. Cadiz will be ransomed.

'Entering the houses then, of their most richest men,
For gold and treasure we searchéd eche day,
In some places we did find, pyes baking left behind,
Meate at fire roasting, and folkes run away.'

The English measure out 'damasks, sattens and velvets' by the lengths of their swords and share out the loot. Men of Cadiz yield themselves up and beg for mercy. Mercy is granted them. But the promised ransom is not forthcoming.

'When our brave General saw they delayéd all,
And wold not ransome their town as they said,
With their fair wanscots, their presses and bedsteads,
Their joint-stools and tables a fire we made;
And when the town burned all in flame,
With tara, tantara, away wee all came.'

How an antiquary must regret that wholesale destruction of mediæval and Renaissance furniture! What jostling would there be had it been brought back to England, survived to this day, and by some incalculable freak of Fortune come up for sale at Christie's! But it is a sobering reflection that war is now ten thousand times more destructive than ever it was before since there was human life upon this globe.

Floods which with all their tragic consequences our modern age has witnessed—and which rustics still believe to be the result of experiments with the atomic bomb—are phenomena with which our Jacobean ancestors were no less well acquainted. 'Wofull Newes from Wales, or the lamentable loss of divers Villages and Parishes (by a strange and wonderful Flood) within the Countye of Monmouth in Wales : which happened in January last past, 1607, whereby a great number of his Majesties subjects inhabiting in these parts are utterly undone.' Lovers of the marvellous, for whom the modern pictorial press still cater, must have revelled in the following : ' Another little childe is affirmed to have been cast upon land in a Cradle, in which was nothing else but a Catte, the which was discerned, as it came floating to the shore, to leape still from one side of the Cradle unto the other, even as if she had been appointed steersman to preserve the small barke from the waves' furie.' One asks oneself in what secure nook these philosophers were ensconced amidst the dreadful turmoil of sea and sky, to watch this navigating cat at her manœuvres. Save for the style, which is colourful and vigorous, this is the very stuff of which modern journalese is made. One misses only the alliteration—'Billows and the Babe' ; ' Cat's Courage Commended.'

Another tract of the same date tells of disastrous floods also in Somerset and Norfolk, 'destroying many thousands of men, women, and children, overthrowing and beating downe whole townes and villages, and drowning infinite numbers of sheep and cattle.' A woodcut to this second tract is fascinatingly artless. A man bestrides the roof of his lilliputian house in a posture of prayer. Men climb trees : one naked, except for his nightcap. Horses, oxen, and men swim in the flood, not promiscuously but at curiously equal distances one from another as though in a cartoon for tapestry. One of these swimmers, which is

certainly neither horse, ox, nor sheep, suggests irresistibly the Wolf in the children's pantomime of Red Riding-hood. No lady appears anywhere. This surely is an oversight. A damsel or two in distress would have heightened the poignancy of this dreadful spectacle.

'Bloodie Murders' then as now were plentifully reported, and the 'Catte' having had her innings, the butchery of an unknown man near Highgate is 'very strangely' found out by a 'dogge.' Signs, prodigies, and the like dear to the simple-minded—I have myself talked with an old man who protested his unswerving faith in the prophecies of that English sibyl Mother Shipton—are plentifully recorded. Over Mahomet's tomb in Arabia an army fights in the clouds. Blood rains from the heavens. A woman appears in the sky, a sword in her left hand and a book in her right. What fun our ancestors must have had! But some birds, it seems, were too wise to be caught with chaff. The author of this tract, Master Nathaniel Butter, entreats his more sceptical readers, 'if you cannot beleieve it as truth, yet to make that use of it as if it were true; and then shall you know that . . . visions, apparitions . . . with all the cabinet of mysteries' do but prove that the 'obstinate sinner' will be visited with punishments, whilst a 'store-house of mercy' will support the 'penitente soule' with comfort.

Shakespeare in his gentlest comedy vein satirises this love of the groundlings for the marvellous in 'A Winter's Tale.' Autolycus turned ballad-singer deals in prodigies which are second to none. His ballad against 'the hard hearts of maids' was sung by a fish 'forty thousand fathoms above water.' This creature was supposed to be a woman metamorphosed into a fish as a judgment upon her for her chilly reception of her lover. Six justices of the peace have affixed their signatures as witnessing the truth of the phenomena which the ballad sets forth, and if we should still be so foolishly sceptical as to withhold belief, as further proof of bona-fide the very date when the airborne fish sang her ditty is most scrupulously recorded. It was 'Wednesday the fourscore of April.'

It was when Cromwell's party was in the ascendant—Charles was then a prisoner at Hampton Court—that Mathew Hopkins published his 'Discovery of Witchcraft.' The illustrated press of the time duly records examples of

the witch-mania. A pamphlet of 1643 shows us the wood-cut of a witch sailing upon a bare plank across the 'river of Newberry.' She steadies herself with a staff, and two ravens, her familiars, flutter about her. The Roundheads observe and lay an ambush for her. Having caught her, they set her, 'boul't upright against a mud bank or wall,' and two noted sharpshooters are deputed to shoot at her point-blank. They do so, but with what result? The diabolical old woman, with 'a deriding and loud laughter at them,' catches their bullets in her hands and chews them! A soldier then draws a sword and drives at her with all the force of his body, but achieves no better results. Then it occurs to one of the puritans to draw blood from the witch's temples, thus neutralising the power of magic. After this satisfactory consummation, somebody discharges 'a Pistoll underneath her ear,' when, like any of our everyday Joans or Jills, she 'sank down and died.' Did the pamphleteer believe a word of this tale? Or was he merely playing Autolycus? Who can say? But doubtless, the sales were brisk.

To 'Mercurius Civicus,' which began to appear during the second half of the Civil War, belongs the credit of being the first English illustrated. It may of course be objected that an illustrated pamphlet can hardly be described as the forebear of an illustrated paper, since a paper suggests a periodical, whereas a pamphlet is a publication on its own. That is true, but in this case a common title, that of 'Mercurius Civicus,' links the detached pamphlets into a series, whilst a common interest, that in the Civil War, animates the whole. The illustrations too are no longer haphazard but recur with sufficient regularity to constitute a 'feature'; whilst the numbers themselves appear if not at stated times, yet at least after approximately predictable intervals.

Portraits on page 1 of Number 8 show us King Charles I and his Queen, Henrietta Maria enclosed in two medallions. Other numbers, other notables. We find the Lord General Fairfax; Lord Digby; Lord Inchiquin, and Sir William Waller. Also Prince Rupert, whose portrait—whether through inadvertence or from motives of economy—is made to do duty elsewhere for that of the Marquis of Newcastle. Like several other papers of the Civil War the 'Scottish Dove,' for example, 'Mercurius Civicus'

sometimes gives the news-summary in rhyme. Thus for example :

‘Tewkesbury is taken,
Yorke walls are well shaken.’

Reduced thus to slogans, news could the more easily be banded from mouth to mouth.

Those in authority viewed the journalists with jealous suspicion, and we all know that William Prynne lost his ears for writing ‘*Histrio-Mastix*,’ a sentence which strikes us to-day as ferocious. But apart from the national dislike of a kill-joy, we English have always vehemently upheld the honour of our sovereigns, and Prynne’s insolence assuredly deserved some check for promulgating his uncalled-for animadversions on the beautiful young queen. The freedom of the press which we now enjoy was hard won, and we should guard it jealously, but the Star Chamber bears an undue share of odium for the part it played in bearing hard upon those journalists who opposed the policy of the King’s government. That court was arbitrary ; it was tyrannical ; but the Puritan party which abolished it did not do so from any sentiments in favour of a greater freedom for letters. It is no Cavalier but John Milton himself who protests : ‘ Who cannot but discern . . . that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open ; it was the people’s birthright and privilege in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of light ? But now, the Bishops being abrogated and voided out of the Church . . . liberty of printing must be enthralled again . . . the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters.’ And Macaulay has given us a vivid sketch of the printers of a later day than Milton’s, working with precautions resembling those of ‘ coiners and forgers.’

After the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1689, the production of newspapers increased rapidly, and in 1695 the censorship of the press ceased altogether. To enumerate all the illustrated papers which began now to appear would be tedious, but as representative of the eighteenth century we may select the following. These were illustrated at least to the extent of having pictorial headings : the ‘Post Boy,’ ‘Weekly Journal,’ ‘London Journal,’ all of 1720 ; the ‘Weekly Journal, or Saturday’s Post,’ ‘Applebee’s Weekly Journal,’ both of 1721 ; ‘Read’s Journal, or

British Gazetteer,' 1718-31. The 'Daily Post,' which was issued as a single sheet divided into three columns, offers us an early example of a newspaper in the modern sense with illustrations of current events. The number for March 29, 1740, gives us a detailed account of Admiral Vernon's attack on Porto Bello, together with a pictorial plan which shows the general layout of the harbour, the forts, and the positions taken up by our ships.

Henry Fielding, the author of 'Tom Jones,' for some time edited the 'Jacobite Journal,' which was designed to support the House of Hanover after the '45. It contained four pages; and numbers 1 to 12 were decorated each with a woodcut attributed to Hogarth. In 1731 Edward Cave brought out the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' This venture contained most of the characteristics of a modern illustrated. It gave news from home and abroad; births, deaths, and marriages; articles controversial, humorous, and satirical; not to mention a register of books. To-day if we come upon this old publication in some dusty corner of a provincial library—with its small print, so trying to modern eyes—it seems an object as incapable of arousing strong emotion as the circle of Stonehenge. But in the seventeen-thirties periodicals were not produced by the thousand. Dr Johnson told Boswell that 'when he first saw St John's Gate, the place where that deservedly popular miscellany was originally printed, he "beheld it with reverence."' Early in his London career the Doctor became a regular contributor. His first contribution was a complimentary Latin poem which—such is what we are pleased to call 'progress'—few to-day could read and no editor would pay for. We learn from Dr Johnson of the lively interest which Cave took in everything that pertained to his new venture. 'Cave,' says he, 'used to sell ten thousand of the "Gentleman's Magazine"; yet such was then his minute attention and anxiety that the sale should not suffer the smallest decrease, that he would name a particular person who he heard had talked of leaving off the Magazine, and would say, "Let us have something good next month."'

On Dec. 4, 1791, appeared the first number of the 'Observer,' which still flourishes as the oldest of our surviving Sunday papers. The issue for Oct. 29, 1815, contained a large copper-plate view of the Island of St

Helena, where Napoleon had been consigned to exile, together with a descriptive account. Another historic number was that of March 15, 1820. This gives a section of the type of bomb manufactured by the Cato Street conspirators. A second illustration shows us the stable where the ruffians foregathered on the night when the police carried out their famous raid. A multitude of ten persons—after all, they had all to be drawn, you know!—promenade before this castle of disaffection. Some appear to be plebeians, but the majority have an air of fashion as they point out features of interest with elegant gestures.

The number of Nov. 10, 1823, shows us an illustration of the pond from which two men are salvaging the body of William Weare, victim of the notorious murderer Thurtell. One realises that the 'bloodie Murders' of our ancient ballads still fascinate, as do the ballads themselves. I well recall an aged nurse who would lull me to sleep with the following stanza, which never troubled me in the slightest nor obtruded itself into my dreams :

' They cut his throat from ear to ear,
His brains they battered in.
His name was Mr William Weare,
And he lived at the Lion Inn.'

So pleasantly do the centuries overlap one another !

The ' Illustrated London News,' for many years without a rival in its own class, was published in 1842 by the enterprising, indefatigable Herbert Ingram, who had been in his boyhood a printer's devil in Boston, Lincolnshire. It sold first at fivepence, the price being later raised to sixpence. This newspaper grew to be of sufficient standing to maintain three artists in the field throughout the Crimean War. Many of its pictures are of the liveliest interest to historians. That for June 5, 1842, gives us a spirited picture of the attempted assassination of Queen Victoria in Hyde Park. That of June 19 shows the Queen, surrounded by members of her court, about to depart upon her first railway journey. She wears a poke bonnet decorated with an ostrich feather.

The ' Illustrated London News ' ran to sixteen pages and thirty-two woodcuts per number. After Herbert Ingram, its founder, the name most generally associated

with this famous periodical is perhaps that of Henry Vizetelly, who leaves us with the impression that in his early days the profession of journalist was hardly less precarious than it had been in the days of the first Elizabeth. 'I can recall,' he tells us in his autobiography, 'a string of names of journalists and magazine-writers who were accustomed to spend a fair portion of their lives within the high walls of the Fleet or King's Bench prisons.' It was not until 1861 that the Bankruptcy Act was passed which made prison for debt illegal. It is to the glory of Charles Dickens that, through the medium of the prison scenes in his novels, he more than any other man had prepared public opinion for this beneficent reform.

In order to supply the 'Illustrated London News' with sketches of Parisian life under siege conditions, Vizetelly deliberately remained at his post instead of joining the flock of refugees who streamed out of the town when the blockade was seen to be inevitable. He lived upon rats and, when such supplies were obtainable at less than famine prices, cutlets of bear, yak, kangaroo, or elephant from the *Jardin des Plantes*. He despatched his sketches to London by means of a service of balloons which had been organised for the purpose of carrying letters into and out of the beleaguered city. But unlike the modern aeroplane, the old-style balloon was at the mercy of the winds, and since the science of meteorology was as yet in its infancy, the behaviour of these was unpredictable. On one occasion the English artist-correspondent's sketches met with a most appreciative reception in the *German* press!

To-day the older press-artist is being pretty generally supplanted by the cameraman, a change which, though it possesses certain sterling advantages, is not wholly to the good. In the realm of the cinema, the camera has given us a new art which has more than justified itself, but in the illustrations of the pictorials the imaginative element is apt to be sacrificed. The individuality, the personal vision is less in evidence. More than a scientific statement is required to fix upon our minds the traits of such arresting personalities as Samuel Pickwick, Esq., or of Mr Sherlock Holmes.

KENNETH HARE

Art. 11.—THE WORKER PRIESTS OF FRANCE.

IN the nineteenth century the Church lost the working classes. They were not estranged by the impact of a new science on an ancient theology, as happened to intellectuals. They were not alienated because of the rise of a new heresy, as were sectarians. They were swayed by a new evangel that taught them that 'religion was the opium of the people,' and the 'human swarm' in the new urban centres were receptive to this teaching. The dogmas and the liturgy that had cradled their fathers were regarded as expressions of a superstitious past. Nurtured as they were in material dogmas, they considered the Church as the ally of a master class that the hoped-for class-war would demolish. Such theories were powerful in France, and here the hostility between the Imperium and the Sacerdotium became so bitter that there took place the Great Separation. In 1906, on the morrow of this cleavage, the Hierarchy met to see how they could sustain and orient the Faith in the new lay world. But strange to say, the cleavage between the Church and State made for mutual understanding. The sectarian bitterness that had divided France waned. Clericalism and anti-clericalism became memories. And the First World War helped to cement the understanding between Church and State. Members of all denominations had found side by side in the community of war that common sacrifice rendered the previous antagonism purposeless. And as the older hostility softened there rose to urgency the central problem of the twentieth century, the relation of the Church to the new proletariat.

In 1920 Pope Pius XI recognised with pain and sorrow that 'the Working Class was lost to the Church.' Yet while the teaching of the Red Doctor was an important factor in the estrangement of the working masses from the Faith, it remained true that Marxism was an economic doctrine. Atheism was the enemy. The growing political importance of the working classes made this social stratum focal to the new civilisation. In 1927 the 'Osservatore Romano,' the organ of the Vatican, recognised that the 'working classes are the centre point around which will be decided the evolution of our society, as the inevitable decline of the capitalist phase of society gives place to a system of life and relationships that are more moral and

more human.' While the Vatican recognised these new religious vistas, events in France opened the paths to a new reconciliation between the Church and the masses.

In 1939 war came again. If the First World War created understanding between lay society and the Church, the Second World War reconciled them. It was in the shadow of the Resistance that a new ministry was born. Priests secretly accompanied their flock, even when unbelieving and erring, to work camps in Germany which were manned by the unhappy policy of Franco-German 'collaboration.' One of them, Father Dillard, succumbed in Dachau. In 1941 Father Loew became a docker in Marseilles. For war had evoked a religious renaissance. Lay politics appeared as a paralysis. It had led to the strife that all had wished to avert. Above the clamour of politicians, the Church appeared the only institution in which disinterested service continued a tradition and social objectives that drew their strength from Christ. The religious renaissance had begun with the humble. It was no emotional upsurge. It was rooted in heedful social and religious analysis. It drew its strength from Christ. No individual effort came first. The reaction of Christian souls to the new world was spontaneous. In 1943 Fathers Daniel and Godin published a seminal book 'France Pays de Mission.' It shocked and startled. Traditional Catholics had seen France as the land of St Vincent de Paul and St Theresa, of the Crusades and the Cathedrals, of devoted prelates and a devout people. Father Godin showed that in the twentieth century France was divided into three nations: first, Christian France still practising the Faith of their fathers. There was next the nation that retained a Christian culture and ethic but that had ceased to practise Christianity. Thirdly there was a de-Christianised France where Christian life had disappeared. There were some eight million working men and women who were pagan.

At about the same time Father Boulard, a chaplain of the 'jeunesse agricole,' wrote 'Les Problèmes missionnaires de la France rurale,' in which he came to conclusions not dissimilar. Even in rural France, where one might have expected Faith and faithfulness, there were the same three nations. There were Christians who regularly attended Church and obeyed her behests; there was a nation of seasonal conformity that went to Church for

ceremonial and social reasons, for baptism and marriage and burial; and there were growing sections of pagan lands in rural France.

Faced with such data, what could the Faithful do? They were under enemy occupation. Normal life foundered. Moreover, the reasons given in these religious surveys to account for the paganisation of a once-Christian land were as disturbing as the facts themselves. They showed that the old traditional church unit had no niche in the new civilisation that was emerging. Formerly the parish had satisfied the needs of the church's administration and had become the religious facet of stable local life. Around the parish the traditional Christian life of the people had centred. The curé and the church had supplied the religious need for a priest and a foyer for prayer and worship. But the facets of life had changed. A new industrial civilisation had emerged in which the parish was no longer the centre of any life. Father Cardjin, who had been active on missionary work in Belgium, showed that the factory and the workshop were autonomous centres of the new civilisation and he came to the conclusion that 'you could only reach the working classes and evangelise them through the working classes.' He showed, as he worked with the *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*, how temporal life and spiritual life react on one another. The parish which focused the visible church was traditional and satisfying to men who had enjoyed stable occupations. Now in a changing civilisation and with economic instability, the problem of evangelisation was no longer a parish problem.

They showed also that a cleavage had grown between believers and unbelievers, that modern urban civilisation was creating conditions of life that made the masses unbelievers. They had grown strangers in the older and traditional Christian environment. And this meant that they needed a new approach, a new missionary fervour, and above all a new clergy. Abbé Godin had sounded both a warning and a challenge. 'If we do not create missions for our proletariat who are without religion, others will. Let us pray that it will not be too remote from Christ.'

The growing industrialisation, war, defeat, the emotions of the 'Resistance'—all created a challenge to the Church of France. It was sympathetically accepted. The Arch-

bishop of Paris, Cardinal Souhard, was deeply concerned with the new problems facing the Church. He too longed to reach the masses. He felt profoundly and sincerely his episcopal responsibilities. He wrote sorrowfully: 'A wall has been erected between Catholics and the vast masses of unbelievers. We are responsible for our brothers who do not attend Church and wait for us to awaken God in them. We shall be judged by what we do for them and with them.' And Cardinal Souhard met Fathers Godin and Daniel and together they began the Christian conquest of the masses. So began the Mission de France.

In September 1942 there was opened at Lisieux, in the shadow of the cathedral, the Mission de France with about thirty priests and seminarists, where they were to train how to evangelise industrial France. In November 1943, after a retreat at Lisieux, Father Godin founded La Mission de Paris with seven helpers. He went to Combes la Ville and Lisieux to study how best to put into practice the new hopes, but on his return from Lisieux he died, a young priest of 38 who had endowed France with a new mission and a new goal. But his work continued. He can rank with the noblest of saints. By a decision of the Cardinals and Archbishops of France there was created the national seminary, the Mission de France. It was authorised to recruit priests in all France, so that it was from the outset a national and not a diocesan movement. Seminarists were ordained by the Mission to evangelise all France. And without a regret, scorning material careers, with only their faith to sustain them, there came men of goodwill and selfless devotion to preach the word of God among the de-Christianised masses of France. The Mission was given a constitution by Rome. It was to be not a Congregation but a priestly corps to sustain and serve all. And since the Renaissance there was not seen such an outburst of devotion and religious activity. Soon some hundred priests 'went to the people' with zeal and utter selflessness. They worked with the pure and austere piety of pioneers. They entered factories and mines, they became dockers and navvies. Wherever there was unbelief and irreligion in working quarters, a priest from the Mission de France saw a duty to bring the word of God. And after expected misunderstandings and suspicious aloofness, they were received into their midst, and were loved and respected

and obeyed. When Father Michel Favreau, who worked as a docker, was killed at his work, all the dockers of Bordeaux followed his remains to burial and some for the first time prayed in a church. From all parts of France there came stories of the devotion and affection accorded to these humble men who sought to bring Christ into the lives of the disinherited. They took their task so seriously that they did not limit their duty to act as missionaries of Christ. They identified themselves with the lives of their new parishioners. They were elected as shop stewards and took office in trade unions. They spoke the same, often Marxian, language. They took part in strikes. They began to break down that wall that divided believers and unbelievers, for they succeeded in breaking down suspicion by coming as close to working-class life and ideology as possible.

With the Liberation there came also an outburst of social hope which was an encouraging environment for the worker priests. Christian trade unions increased their membership. In the new atmosphere the M.R.P. was formed to make possible the entry of religion into politics. In his Pastoral Letter of 1949 Cardinal Souhard noted: 'In many countries called Christian and in France in particular, the Church is visible only to a few. Deep prejudices have completely distorted the Church in their eyes. It is for the public good that priests again become living witnesses. Work for them is an act of identification with a people, where once the priest was a stranger.'

France is the eldest daughter of the Church. But above France stands Rome. Since 1939 Cardinal Pacelli has ruled the Vatican as Pius XII. He was now ailing and the stories that came to him of affairs in France caused him disquiet. Detractors carried to him accounts of the proletarian activity of worker priests. In 1951 he forbade French Bishops to increase their numbers. When worker priests were among those arrested in the Ridgeway Riots in 1952 controversy over their activities became acute among the episcopate. Older Catholics began to suspect the evangelism that found expression in political action. For the mission of these worker priests had captured the imagination of the young. Whilst the Hierarchy were complaining of the difficulty of filling parishes, the élan of life seemed to have entered the new missionary field.

Yet they were beset by difficulties and temptations by their very zeal. To Rome there came denunciations that the 'Communist Manifesto' was used as a gospel by these priests in their eagerness to be workers. In May 1953 four apostolic visitors who came yearly to report to Rome on the Seminaries sent back reports to the Curia how young seminarists were dreaming of nothing more than of carrying the word of God to metal-workers and miners and of adopting the conditions of life and poverty of unskilled workers. And worker priests became absorbed in their new milieu. In the strikes of 1953 worker priests of Limoges made common cause with the strikers. At Marseilles the Archbishop, Mgr Jean Delay, had to recall three worker priests; Reports to the Vatican increased: adverse, partisan, sincere.

The Curia was divided. There were two main wings. The Church does not recognise divisions: She speaks with one voice; but diverse temperaments and sincere convictions create, nevertheless, differences of outlook. On one side are the Integrists, represented by the Pro-Secretary of the Holy Office, Cardinal Ottoviani, and (the German) Father Liebert, head of the Papal Office. They are rigorously hostile to any co-operation with Liberals, atheists, Marxists, or any advocates of Modernism. They deplore the 'French errors' as a modernist deviation. They are supported by Spanish and South American clergy and they were sufficiently powerful to conclude a new Concordat with Spain, to grant the Caudillo the dignity of Knight of the Order of Christ, and to support Spanish policy of 'Hispanité' to extend Spanish and Catholic sway as it was in the golden days of Spanish Catholic Imperial rule. There is a Modernist wing represented by the Prefect of the Congregations, Cardinal Valerio Valeri, who had spent the war years in Paris, and by the 'social bishop,' Mgr Giacomo Lercaro, the 'Italian Abbé Pierre,' who had helped the Resistance during the war and who had opened his bishopric of Bologna and Ravenna to the homeless. Among the Modernists are the French Cardinals Feltin, Gerlier, Liénart, Salièges.

It became known that the Congregation of Seminaries wished the French clergy to give up the 'experiment.' And the Integrists were successful. In September 1953 the Apostolic Nuncio, Mgr Marella, came to France and on

three different occasions, at Lyons, Toulouse, and Paris, called a meeting of the Cardinals and Bishops of France. Both his directive and the manner of his action raised the problem of the worker priests to national concern. For, to the consternation of French opinion, he ordered the 'experiment' to cease. A cry of pain and anguish rang out from all France. Priests and laymen, intellectuals and workers, all came forward to defend this distinctive Christian contribution of the Church of France to twentieth-century Christendom. What was the objection? What grounds were there for this imposition from Rome? Perhaps the Holy Father had received misrepresentations of the true facts. Perhaps the harsh order might be softened. So in November three Cardinals, Liénart, Archbishop of Lille, Gerlier, Archbishop of Lyons, and Feltin, the new Archbishop of Paris, set off for Rome. Did they go to plead the cause of the worker priests? Did they go to assure themselves of the Pope's concern? Was it an expression of French Gallicanism—for there had been earlier difficulties between the Hierarchy of France and the Vatican over the attitude taken on the Abyssinian war. Some felt that the Integrists had taken advantage of the Pope's illness to present him with a *fait accompli*. Would the pleadings of the French Cardinals make for some reprieve? They returned as dutiful and submissive sons of the Church, obedient to the Holy Father and with the outlines of new principles to which the worker priests should conform. Over the Christmas period sermons and statements indicated the spiritual crisis. They were well expressed by Mgr Chapoulie, the Bishop of Angers: 'Do not listen,' he preached, 'to those who murmur without reflection Rome does not understand, the Pope is ill-informed. For the revival in our midst of a Gallican mentality would soon loosen the links between the Catholics of France and the Supreme Head of Christianity.' His pleadings indicated the general feeling of dismay and disarray. Towards the end of January the Hierarchy broke to the worker priests the full sentence; they were to start afresh; they were to accept employment as manual workers for only three hours a day; they were ordered to resign from all temporal functions to which their working-class comrades had elected them, even from a work's committee; they were no longer to constitute a national

corps, but to depend on the bishop in the diocese in which they worked. The priests had made it clear that they had wished to share the life and work of the disinherited in order to make their mission the more fruitful. The Church found their work incompatible with the duties of a priest. The Hierarchy expected remonstrance, for they issued a solemn warning against disobedience. The worker priests must give up serving their brothers according to their own views and accept the views considered right by the Church Eternal. In sermon and pastoral letters Cardinals explained to the Faithful the reasons for their action.

Mgr Liénart, Archbishop of Lille, who had gone to Rome on the matter, emphasised that the Holy Father had taken this decision for purely doctrinal reasons. Mgr Ancel explained: 'We are obliged to note that a new civilisation is developing very different from the Græco-Roman civilisation in which we were brought up, a civilisation corrupted by atheism and materialism. This civilisation is growing up outside the Church and without Christ. In this situation it was good that pioneers of missionary action should awaken the poor to Christian doctrine. But all did not avoid deviations and errors. Hence the great problems which are now being studied in the light of the Holy Father's paternal anxiety to preserve the integrity of the priesthood without abandoning the action which must be maintained in the heart of the working classes.'

The French Hierarchy issued a carefully worded statement, to meet criticisms. They insisted that the church alone can tell what life is compatible with the priesthood. For the future the title of worker priest was to be replaced by 'Priests of the working-class Mission.' They insisted that the decision was not taken from a contempt for manual labour, but to safeguard the priesthood.

Throughout France the Bishops' statement was met with pain and incredulity. The implications of these directives nullified the mission of these self-sacrificing priests. For the prohibition of full work meant in fact that they could not work at all in factories. Which factory would accept men for three hours' work? And part-time work would lose them the whole-hearted support and respect of their fellow-workers. Any special arrangements for priests' work would be resented by the other employees and so would destroy the very purpose for which they had

entered the factory. Moreover, to give up all temporal commitments meant that they could not join working-class organisations or enter into working-class activity. Such restrictions were imposed on them because they wished to bring workers to God by being workers. Why were they singled out for such treatment when there existed at the same time priests who were full-time teachers and deputies (Abbé Pierre was a deputy for seven years) and even employers?

From the priests especially came a cry of anguish. Seventy-three signed a Declaration of Protest against the decisions taken by the Bishops under instruction from the Pope. 'We do not think that our life's work has ever prevented us from remaining faithful to our Faith and our Priesthood,' they pleaded. 'The working class has learnt to trust the worker priests. The respect and confidence which they show us forbid us to accept any compromise which would consist in remaining members of the working class without accepting the responsibilities and commitments of workers.' Their protest, alas, was bound to be vain. It enforced the contention of the Integristists that there was a growing tendency among French Catholics to adopt a neo-Protestant attitude, while the priests were faced with tragic alternatives. To submit meant to them the denial of their Mission; to disobey and leave the Church would mean to be cut off from the very cause that they had entered factories to champion.

They were asked to submit by March 1. A fortnight before, some thirty-one priests of the Paris diocese addressed a strong, emotional letter to their Archbishop. 'Before God, who will judge you, you affirm to us, Your Eminence, that in all this there is no question of politics. That is not our conviction. We ask you to respect the roots we have planted, not to kill in us the call of Christ to share the fate of our brothers in work.' And they added: 'Would Cardinal Souhard have disavowed or condemned us?' Some fifty intellectuals added their protest, expressing the general distress felt among Catholics at the action against the worker priests.

The wounds in the worker priests were still open when the Church received another blow. From the Vatican, Father Beslay had scarcely finished his radio appeal to the 'Priests of the Working-class Mission,' pleading with

them to submit and recognising that they had been successful in breaking down the barriers between the Church and fellow-workers, when all France was startled.

In that February Father Emmanuel Suarez, the Master-General of the Dominican Order, arrived in France and at a Chapter of the Order announced grave changes. He replaced the Provincials of Paris (Father Avril), of Lyons (Father Belleaux), and of Toulouse (Father Nicholas), and he ordered four Dominicans who were accepted as pious, intellectual exponents of the Faith to leave the Paris area for exile.

The Provincials of the Dominican Order were generally elected, and this action appeared a grave interference by authority in an Order that stood out shiningly for its religious teaching and democratic organisation. Of the Dominicans, Father Feret held the Chair of Theology in the Institut Catholique de Paris, Father Boiselot was the director of the Dominican Publishing House, Editions du Cerf, Father Congar was a distinguished contributor to *Témoignage Chrétien*.

All submitted to the Papal behests. What was their sin? There had been a discussion on the vexed question as to whether the function of priesthood were compatible with full employment in a factory and the arguments of these Dominicans had been not as submissive as Rome expected. Yet they had added, 'If we are devoted to the Church, we must be capable not only of suffering for her but also of suffering through her.' Was their exile a punishment for this implied criticism? The intervention was made doubly painful, for it was known that in Rome Father Suarez had defended the Order and their efficient study centres and that he had come himself in order to avoid 'something worse.' What had the Integristes intrigued against the Dominicans, who in their writings and teachings gave an intellectual and social interpretation to the teachings of the Church? France felt it as another indication of Rome's mistrust of the French Church.

These actions by the Vatican inevitably led to political repercussions. Catholics and non-Catholics grew alarmed at this intervention of Rome. The former anti-clerical spirit was aroused. There were questions to the Foreign Minister by a Socialist anti-clerical and a Catholic Gaulist senator. The deputy asked how it was that the Apostolic

Nuncio, who was a foreign diplomat accredited to the French Government, could convene Cardinals and Archbishops, as he did in three different places, and in the name of a foreign sovereign, the Pope, summon them to put an end to a French action (of the worker priest). Could a foreign diplomat give orders to French subjects? How would France react if such orders were given by the Soviet ambassador? Why should exception be made in favour of the ruler of the Vatican? It had been laid down by a very Catholic foreign minister, Chateaubriand, that a Nuncio accredited to the Government could deal with Frenchmen, whether clerical or lay, only through the Government. The Catholic senator stated that while respecting the separation of Church and State, the attention of the Holy See should be drawn to the regrettable consequences of the recent decisions on French priests and monks, which may have an adverse effect on the prestige and influence of France. Devout Catholics were drawn into the arena on the side of the worker priests and the Dominicans who had defended them. François Mauriac, the distinguished writer and Nobel prize-winner, declared that he had received letters which were 'a cry of pain, not of revolt.' He feared that the Holy See did not realise what a painful blow had been struck at the militant wing of the Church of France. He declared that it must have been known to the Holy See that the worker priests had become an organic part of the French proletariat and that as priests they had become incorporated into it as witnesses of Christ and the Church. And as for the Dominicans: 'To-day when the Order is being reproached in the persons of its most distinguished theologians, it has become evident what it represents to French Catholics, "the spirit of liberty in the heart of the Church, in close union with the See of St Peter".' He was pained 'to learn that measures had even been considered against the Dominican House of Saulchoir, a centre for novitiates founded by La Cordaire. To strike a blow at the sons of La Cordaire would be like dynamiting one of our Cathedrals.' But the Papacy had the better diplomats. It had broken the worker-priest mission and dismissed the Dominicans in such a manner that right appeared on its side. For the tragedy of the fray lay in the fact that it was not a conflict of right and wrong but of right and right. The French State is in law

neutral in religious matters. The Hierarchy and the Dominicans must take their orders from Rome. And according to law the Dominicans were not dismissed. They were persuaded to resign. No one could claim that there had been a breach. The condemnation of the worker priests was justified on clerical grounds, for they imperilled the traditional concept of priesthood. As Cardinal Lienart phrased it: 'To be a priest and to be a worker are two different functions, two different kind of lives.' The Faithful who were hurt at the action of the Hierarchy saw that what appeared at first a question of internal discipline transformed into a question of theology in which the voice of the Holy See was final.

As March approached Cardinal Feltin issued a Pastoral Letter in which he summed up the arguments that had been used by friend and foe of the Church's action. In solemn, ecclesiastical tones he explained how ten years previously his predecessor, Cardinal Souhard, had called upon priests to share the lives of working people in order to evangelise them. He had made no mystery of the Mission. He sought no publicity. But the experiment had grown into a sensation fanned by newspapers, into unhealthy publicity. Some regarded the priests as the allies of anarchy. Communists suspected them as agents of capitalism. It was the duty of the Church to maintain the purity of its doctrine amidst the fluctuations of differing theories. These priests were not sufficiently prepared for their apostolate. For not generosity and devotion only were needed to make their mission effective. They needed careful preparation in social sciences as well as in theology for them to deal with the economic and social ideas current in their new environment. He repeated that the November decisions were not taken because of political reasons. The Church had taken her action for purely doctrinal and pastoral reasons. Cardinal Souhard had aimed to make the Church of Christ present in the working class through priests of the Church. He had not advocated a doctrine that a change of economic and social structure must occur before the Gospel could be preached. He again pleaded for submission and promised that the work would not cease for 'the Church as a whole must be placed in a state of mission.'

So slowly and surely came submission. But the

emotions it raised indicate the intensity of feeling on faith in the new age. Around the mission of these humble priests the antagonisms of the modern world revolved. Communists pointed to the action of a reactionary Church in stifling a mission for the masses; and with cruel joy repeated that their theories must be correct, for even Church missionaries accepted them as soon as they entered and understood working-class environments. Capitalists complained that it was no duty of priests to take part in strikes or enter industrial strife. The Church recognised that to evangelise the estranged masses something more was needed than goodwill and devotion. For these priests were removed from all diocesan control. They had no tradition of a great Order to maintain doctrinal discipline and many had erred out of zeal and enthusiasm.

In April 1954 a hundred and twenty Bishops met in full session in the Institut Catholique de Paris to discuss the problems of the Church. There were six Cardinals and twenty-one archbishops, presided over by Cardinal Liénart, the doyen of the Episcopate. It was the second full meeting since the disaster of the Law of Separation. But although social action was discussed, the place of worker priests in the religious life of the day was avoided. Abbé Godin had recognised that there would follow episcopal reactions to his dream of a mission by working priests for working people, to bring the new proletariat back to God. He had explained, 'We are the engine. The Bishops are the brakes. Both are needed.' But the Church rejected this distinctive effort of worker priests to win the masses back to the Church.

In the nineteenth century the Church lost the working classes. In the twentieth century humble French priests tried to regain them. Their glorious failure is an impressive and disturbing epic in the story of the Church of France.

VICTOR COHEN.

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Civil War in England. Jack Lindsay.
The Answers of Ernst von Saloman. Von Saloman.
Shakespearean Stage Production: Then and Now. Cecile de Banke.
Matthew Arnold, Poetry and Prose. Edited by John Bryson.
The Triple Stream. Antony Brett-James.
André Gide. Enid Starkie.
Léon Bloy. Rayner Heppenstall.

Mr Herbert Morrison in his 'Government and Parliament' (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press) has made a notable and authoritative addition to the literature of constitutional history. He rightly claims that this is not a party political book. It is a balanced study. Although he in places emphasises his own political views, this is done as a matter of discussion and not as propaganda. He aims at helping the intelligent reader, the student, and all interested in public affairs to understand the working of the British system of Cabinet government and parliamentary democracy. In the first section he deals with the Cabinet and Ministers, committees, 'overlords,' co-ordinators and Parliamentary secretaries. He then turns to Parliament, the Monarchy, party organisation, the life and problems of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords (the value of which he fully realises, provided it is altogether subservient to the Commons), parliamentary procedure, and the legislative programme. He then turns to administration, socialisation of industry, public control, economic planning, and finally the Civil Service, that constantly criticised but immensely valuable and honourable branch of the constitution—although it is admitted that all the accusations of bureaucracy and official delay are not unjustified! Among smaller points

Mr Morrison somewhat ruefully admits that Parliamentary Labour Party Meetings are notoriously liable to leaks of information.

The book is largely the result of talks at Nuffield College, Oxford: 'You really must write a book about all this. You have told us about a lot of things which have not yet reached the text-books.' Thus encouraged, he set to work, and he has succeeded well.

It is curious that there have not been more lives of Lord Palmerston, considering what an attractive subject he is for both skilful biographer and for intelligent readers. For over half a century he was an outstanding figure in English political and social life. He was the very essence of John Bull in both his virtues and his failings. As Lord Russell said of him after his death, 'His heart beat ever for England.' 'My Country right or wrong' might have been his motto, and his famous defence of a shady Portuguese Jew, Don Pacifico, who happened legally to be a British subject, proved his support of British rights, even in extreme cases. Mr W. Baring Pemberton in his 'Palmerston' (Batchworth Press) has achieved a straightforward, informative, historically valuable, and eminently readable work. He gives a life-like portrait of 'Pam'—jaunty, self-confident, able, irrepressible, unemotional and practical, not a genius but doing many things well with relish, and these things were the pursuits and pastimes which appealed most to Englishmen. He was equally at home on Newmarket Heath or at a farmers' ordinary as on the Treasury bench. He was an untiring supporter of democratic institutions, and opponent of slavery. What was best for England must *ipso facto* be best for other countries, and that may be taken as the key to his foreign policy. He was often a sore trial to Queen Victoria and to members of his own governments like Gladstone. But that did not worry him unduly. Mr Pemberton writes with discernment, good judgment, and humour, and the result is most enjoyable.

'The Secret People,' by E. W. Martin, with a foreword by J. W. Robertson Scott, C.H. (Phoenix House), is a book about village life and problems from 1750 to the present day, that is from the still almost feudal eighteenth century to the sophisticated, bus-provided, sometimes chain-store-endowed, but not necessarily more happy and

contented village of to-day. Planning does not bring paradise and the attraction of the towns and rural exodus continue. The author gives us true pictures of the squire, the parson, the farmer, the labourer, the game-keeper and poacher, rural industries and crafts, women in the village, and education. He ends with 'a rural balance sheet,' in which he writes 'there are a number of problems which are of special importance in every parish. These are (1) Education and Recreation. (2) Religion. (3) Industrial opportunities within the countryside; and (4) the losses involved in the disappearance of the peasant and the means to be adopted so that such loss can be practically rectified.' Books about the country and life there are legion, but do the townsmen and the politician even yet really understand what is going on, how the evolution, sometimes for better, sometimes for worse, is steadily proceeding? Mr Martin's book is clear, well thought out, written with practical experience, and very useful.

We are told that the argument of '**Pio Nono. A Study of European politics and religion in the 19th Century,**' by E. E. Y. Hales (Eyre and Spottiswoode), is that 'there was a case for Pio Nono in his policies as Italian Prince, at the time of the *Risorgimento*, and that there was a case for him as Pope at the time of the Syllabus and the Vatican Council.' Mr Hales argues this case skilfully and convincingly. The *Risorgimento* was so much romanticised in this country at the time and has been applauded so much by eminent writers since that we are inclined to think that there is nothing to be said on the other side, and we are surprised to find what can be said now, even for the Pope's Temporal Power. Till this book no study of Pio Nono has been published in English since his death in 1878. Yet his long papacy covered remarkable events, including the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country and the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. We are shown the genial and liberal-minded Pope hardened by circumstances, often beyond his control, into the somewhat despotic reactionary. We are shown his relations with Victor Emmanuel, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, as well as with eminent Romanists, including Manning, Dupanloup, de Mérode, Antonelli, Lamennais, Montalambert, and Viuillot. There is a full and enlightening account of the Vatican Council of 1869-70 and

of the events leading up to and after the somewhat unfortunately timed Syllabus of Errors. The whole book is a penetrating study of religion and politics, valuable for Anglicans as well as Roman Catholics.

In 'Catherine the Great and Other Studies' (Longmans) Dr G. P. Gooch gracefully portrays a cavalcade of the eighteenth century. The study of Catherine the Great completes his trilogy (with Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa) of Philosophic Tyrants. She was a penniless princess of Anhalt-Zerbst whom a dynastic marriage to a sickly Czarevitch raised to become the Semiramis of the North. Her appetite for power made her fear-hate her son. Her physical appetite seduced a long succession of lovers. Possessing the morals of the farmyard, she never blushed at her debaucheries, yet Diderot asserted that she combined the soul of Brutus with the charm of Cleopatra. She integrated her realm into the culture of the West and by her political testament the 'Institute,' she proved herself a receptive child of the Aufklärung. The studies of the four *salonnières* whose habitués sapped the *ancien régime* recall Ségur's description—Mme Geoffrin was feared, Mme du Deffand admired, Mme Necker respected, Julie Lespinasse loved—and Marmontel's account of a famous literary quarrel, when Mme du Deffand discovered that she was being supplanted by Lespinasse. In this coterie there grew the 'Encyclopædie,' the most explosive literary enterprise of the age, that broke the hypnotism of the past. The burning of the books in 1758 proved classic in its failure to burn the spirit.

The study of Voltaire, that angel of extermination sent by God against a sinful Church, evokes the intellectual powers of this fearless knight of the spirit. His merciless wit made possible the liberating victories of the Revolution. His writings to-day are dead, but in his age they were deadly. He pioneered the New History and in the age of Gibbon he shone as an equal.

The study of Bismarck needed writing. His statecraft was similar to Cavour's. His political crime is that he neglected to train his people in self-government. When the storm came they were rudderless. Hitler is not a legitimate successor, for Bismarck recognised that politics was the art of the possible, and he would not have driven his Reich into the moral abyss. Dr Gooch writes

with the wisdom of long experience, with freshness and learning. His scholarship bears the colour of spring on the banner of integrity.

'**The Lamartine Ladies,**' by Laura M. Ragg (Macdonald), tells the story of the mother, wife, and niece of the poet-historian-politician. They wholeheartedly devoted themselves to smoothing the way of life for him and soften the blows which bad luck or his own failings brought down on him. Perhaps he was more lucky than he deserved to be, and it would have been better for his character to face the blows without a buffer. Though the story is professedly of Alix, Marianne, and Valentine, Lamartine himself is always in the foreground. So to speak, one cannot write of the hinds without the dominating stag, and Lamartine with his fine presence and good looks was eminently the stag. He had a good opinion of his own position and abilities and he certainly played a very prominent part in the revolution of 1848 and the birth of the short-lived republic then formed, but why he should have held so high a position in the political world is not so clear in this book. His political duties were made to fit in with his personal plans and habits, not the other way round. The poverty of which he complained in his later years was the result of his extravagance and generosity—and in any case he never had to go without his country estate and his home in Paris. Mrs Ragg has given us a notable study of three able, high-principled, and unselfish women and of the times in which they lived. Lamartine himself strikes us as much less attractive—perhaps the author really intended that.

One might have thought that the market was already well stocked with editions of Shakespeare's works, but Odhams Press think otherwise and with boldness and enterprise have produced a notable volume '**William Shakespeare: The Complete Works,**' edited by Professor Charles Jasper Sisson of the University of London, with the assistance of Harold Jenkins, who contributes a biographical essay. W. M. T. Nowottny, who deals with the canon and the text and with former editors and critics; Terence Spencer, who writes on the theatre and the actors; and Bruce Pattison, on music and masque. The whole runs to about 1,430 pages and the selling price is the remarkably low one of 25s. The authentic restoration of

the original text is the result of eight years of hard work and the result is as complete as great energy and outstanding expert skill can make it. Each play is given a critical and explanatory introduction, and there is very interesting information about the Quartos and the First Folio. To review the work of Shakespeare could be only unwarranted presumption, so it remains to offer congratulations and a tribute of appreciation to Professor Sisson and his colleagues.

Mr Douglas Jerrold in his book '**The Lie about the West**' (Dent) makes some shrewd, outspoken, and convincing criticisms of Professor Arnold Toynbee's work '**The World and the West**,' of which he says 'pessimism as to the future of Christian civilisation is carried to the point where listeners are urged to leave the sinking ship, to see the enemy's point of view, and to meet him in the gates before he storms the citadel,' and 'Our world, we are to infer, has so completely lost its faith in Christianity that it is really only a question what will take its place.' Mr Jerrold rightly refuses to bow to that doctrine and makes a very good case of exposing Professor Toynbee's definition of the West and its culture, and rebutting his too great partiality for the East. The book is refreshingly candid and we hope that it will be widely read. We all know that the world is in a bad state now, but let us trust with Mr Jerrold that Christianity and all it stands for will triumph in the end.

Mr S. L. Bensusan has deservedly been called the laureate of the Essex marshland. For over sixty years he has made his home in or near that district, whenever his other occupations allowed of country life, and of late years he has lived on the Essex-Suffolk border entirely. He has keen and perceptive knowledge of the moods and character and habits of the Essex countryman, grave and gay, shrewd, wily, even deceitful, generous, simple, vengeful, forgiving, obstinate, helpful, narrowly religious or frankly pagan as circumstances may demand. Mr Bensusan has written very many stories of these people. In '**A Marshland Omnibus**' (Duckworth) he has selected over 500, which he would like to see preserved, written over many years from 1907 onwards. They are varied and attractive and many readers will be glad to renew acquaintance with the village characters, and the local dialect,

altogether prevalent when Mr Bensusan began writing and still surviving to a considerable degree in spite of free education and the upsets of two wars, which took the young men into a larger world and brought them back sophisticated, as well as occupying the marshlands with large detachments of troops from other parts. Mr Bensusan has done well to put this word picture of Essex life on record.

The fifth edition of that remarkable work of reference '**The World of Learning**,' has been issued this year by Europa Publications Ltd. Here in about 1,050 double-columned quarto pages is a storehouse of information, including learned societies, dealing with all branches of art and science; research institutes, libraries, museums and art galleries; universities and university colleges; centres of adult education; centres of technical education; schools of art, music, and the drama; the names of the principals and staff of these many institutions, and details of their specialities. This would be notable for even one country; in this volume no less than 75 countries are included. The editors may be said to have passed through the Iron Curtain, as Russia, Poland, and other Communist-controlled countries are brought in. There is also an informative and useful introductory section on the origins, aims, functions, organisation, and activities of U.N.E.S.C.O. To most students, writers, and intelligent readers of present-day affairs throughout the world there come times when detailed and accurate information about learned societies and institutions is required, and the question arises where to find it. This volume is the answer for those fortunate enough to have access to it. The editors and Europa Publications deserve our thanks for their enterprise and industry in producing a work of outstanding usefulness.

Seekers after information have for many years learned to be grateful to Messrs Dent for Everyman's Reference Library, and this gratitude will be increased by the appearance of '**Everyman's Dictionary of Dates**,' edited by C. Arnold-Baker and Anthony Dent in which, a volume of 400,000 words priced at 15s., an amazing amount of varied information is to be found. There are indeed 36,000 dates, covering all important world events from earliest times to the present day. Under the title of dates

a wonderful amount of condensed information can be given, and the 8,600 single-subject articles cover such varied subjects as the Bible, Bonaparte, Cambridge University, Crusades, electricity, all well-known countries, ancient and modern, literature, earthquakes, cathedrals, drama, religious sects, capital punishment, wars—the list could continue indefinitely. This is emphatically a volume to keep on a handy shelf for the advantage and further education of readers and students of all kinds.

'Carnot, 1753 to 1823,' by S. J. Watson (Bodley Head), tells the story of a leading actor in the drama of the French Revolution who was a remarkable man, and an unusual one in the circumstances of his day as he was honest, a true patriot, not bloodthirsty, not self-seeking, never striving for the limelight, not boastful, but a very hard worker. He began as a regular Engineer officer under the monarchy, went over to the Revolutionary side from conviction, managed skilfully to keep his head, both physically and metaphorically, under the Terror, and as a member of the Council of Public Safety and afterwards of the Directory he became 'the organiser of victory' before ever Napoleon won a battle, and indeed he gave Napoleon his first independent command. He supported Napoleon when the country needed such a leader, but opposed him when he became a despot and made himself Emperor. However, he did so so honestly that even Napoleon forgave him and gave him employment. His last years under the Bourbons were spent sadly in exile, which he did not deserve; but if he could have foreseen the future he would have rejoiced to see his grandson, Sadi Carnot, as President of the Republic. The author tells the story in a clear, workman-like, and convincing way, avoiding purple patches and literary flourishes. The book should be permanently useful to students of the period.

'Civil War in England,' by Jack Lindsay (Frederick Muller), tells once again the story of the Great Rebellion, and tells it very well in one volume of about 370 pages. The author deals clearly with events leading up to the outbreak of war in 1642 and shows the fatal legacy of conflict with Parliament to which Charles I succeeded from his father—and indeed from Elizabeth, for the conflict was well rooted in her reign, but she was clever enough to know when to give in. Charles was not. He made many fearful

blunders in his treatment of his opponents, but it is not fair to judge him in the light of the present day. He was honestly convinced of the divine right of kings and acted accordingly. He must often have found it difficult to see any divine right in anything in Parliament. Mr Lindsay also deals clearly with the aftermath and the Restoration, and it may be well claimed that the execution of Charles made that Restoration certain. Mr Lindsay gives enough facts and dates to elucidate the story but not to encumber it. He writes clearly and informally and shows the rights and wrongs of both sides, though without much sympathy with the King. Charles was mistaken in his treatment of Parliament, but surely it needed someone of immense strength of character, such as Cromwell, to deal satisfactorily with such a stubborn lot of misguided and narrow minded men as most of them were. Even Cromwell could do it only with force.

In current slang idiom a man who 'knows all the answers' is trusted in none of the answers he gives. He is too wise by half. '**The Answers of Ernst von Saloman**' (Putnam) makes a very unpleasant impression. The personal apologia can offend as often as it pleases. There is much offence in this book. It is a particularly skilful presentation of a cause, that of German nationalism. Its arrogance cannot be dissociated from the teutonic idea of the German superman that was at the core of the Nazi movement. It is not that one expects contrition or even silence from a defeated enemy, but some consciousness should be shown of what the results of unbridled nationalism can be. Von Saloman can keep his mind open on war responsibility. It is not so easy to sweep away the Nazi methods inside the confines of Germany. There is no denying the cleverness of the book. Its irony at times degenerates into the slickest kind of sarcasm. The author has a sharp pen for picking out character and he can ridicule or praise in a brilliant way which, while it achieves its object, is not always in accordance with a less calculated point of view. He seems utterly unconscious of one important fact: that it is only because the war was won by the Allies that it is possible for his book to be published at all. It is disturbing that its analytical brilliance should be directed with such a deliberate aim. Humanity is assumed to be a comparatively unimportant cognomen,

since it cannot be written inside the borders of a small part of a continent on a map of the world.

Shakespeareana has had many important additions in the last few years, some of the best of which have been the more technical theatrical volumes. '**Shakespearean Stage Production: Then and Now**,' by Cecile de Banke (Hutchinson), is a worth-while addition to the technical corpus. She divides her study into four main subjects: Staging, Actors and Acting, Costume, and Music and Dancing. She treats each subject first from an historical point of view, trying to give some idea of the position reached by these things when Shakespeare came to the theatre, and then shows how he utilised the existing methods or, if it suited him, changed or modified them to answer his own purposes. Anyone connected with Shakespearean production will find this book invaluable. It is a sound source of reference easily accessible, whether information is required on a side sleeve, the seating for the Senate, or the steps of the Lavolta. Each section is liberally rounded off with the pertinent bibliography and with an admirable list of pictorial references. Miss de Banke has saved the Shakespearean producer, whether amateur or professional, an enormous amount of time. It is a good practical working book and, keeping itself clear of the more precocious style of interpretation and explanation, it will appeal both to producers and actors who have to hold the stage from behind and are not at liberty to indulge all the personal, impractical, and pedagogical mishmash of the critic sitting in the stalls.

The steady sale of Matthew Arnold's work is proof that this Victorian giant has much to say to our own time.

The Reynard Library Edition (Hart-Davis), '**Matthew Arnold, Poetry and Prose**,' edited by John Bryson, is a particularly comprehensive selection put out in a most admirable format. Arnold's insistence on certain classic standards has an importance to-day, when the tendency is for experience to be accepted as providing little else than a standard of personal pleasure. Poems such as 'The Hidden Life' speak with a voice that is wholly timeless: but all the poems originate in the greater objectivity of trying to survey man and his life on the grandest and completest scale. Arnold is often attacked for refusing to let the personal speak in terms of common

romantic jargon. This overlooks that he was a poet concerned with his workshop and not primarily a versifying moralist. In his essays classical echoes come to us through his work almost as the enchanting sounds and resolved turmoils of the ancient market-places. It is not the brawl of universal education but the insistent individual requirement accepted with a human dignity and a patrician grandeur. The spaciousness of the thought in the essays makes our own harassed surveys seem very much at the mercy of events limited to days and weeks. There is a space in every worth-while book-shelf for Arnold, and this handsome volume fits it exactly.

Tribute must be paid to '*The Triple Stream*,' by Antony Brett-James (Bowes & Bowes). It is an admirable handlist for the student of literature of books published contemporaneously in England, France, and Germany from 1531-1930. It is extraordinarily simple to handle. Details are set out in triple column across the double page so that one sees at a glance that the year H. G. Wells was born, Thomas Love Peacock died, George Eliot published '*Felix Holt*,' Verlaine his '*Poèmes saturniens*' and Heyse his '*Hans Lange*.' The range is catholic. Books that might be considered outside the stream of literature are included, such as works by Napoleon, Mrs Beaton, Darwin, Baedeker, etc. Obviously some selection had to be made to keep the book in bounds and Mr Brett-James seems to have done this in the best possible way. As in all the best reference books, there is a great amount of entertainment arising incidentally out of its usefulness. Any reader will find this volume stimulating and those to whom its practical value seems apparent will discover that it is almost invaluable.

'*André Gide*,' by Enid Starkie, and '*Léon Bloy*,' by Rayner Heppenstall, are two more titles issued in the series '*Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought*' (Bowes & Bowes). As with so many other titles in this series, Gide is treated with utter seriousness. The breath of real critical assessment is not allowed to blow. Dr Starkie writes with great clarity and an extremely able management of that fertile egotist André Gide. Her patience is quite phenomenal. Her condensation, grasp, and exposition say pretty well all that needs to be said about Gide apart from what would be said in a more

destructive approach. The case, as Dr Starkie puts it still does not dispose of that strong element of hypocrisy that was in Gide, gorging so many opposing things all the time. He never seemed to have the moral courage to accept the physical responsibility. Intellectual excuses, reasons, and needs do not seem the correct counterpoise for sexual malpractices. Dr Starkie says in her summing up that 'he is a moralist, psychologist and stylist rather than a pure novelist or dramatist . . . he is a chemist who isolates certain substances to obtain their purest essence. Each of his works is a chemical experiment in purifying some particular quality or vice which he pursues to its logical conclusion.' There is little more to be added to this terrifying intellectual acceptance. One is still amazed at the equanimity with which, in spite of all the facts, a writer can be held to be an apostle of sanctity.

Mr Heppenstall puts much more of himself into his study of Léon Bloy, ardent Catholic and intellectual rebel. He obviously accepts himself as an authority on Bloy and he preserves his independence in a far greater degree than Dr Starkie. His study is far more aware of general literary values, though, of course, it could be said that this is because it wanders farther from its subject. One would imagine that Bloy is far more difficult to isolate from his background than Gide. Mr Heppenstall deals with his bombastic egotism with a certain dry undercurrent of humour which is singularly lacking in most of the other authors in this series.

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